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WORKS IN PROGRESS

VOLUME 6, NO. 8 | THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION | DECEMBER 1995 • FREE

"To maintain the social order the elites have injected us with all kinds of myths..." Margo Adair

WIP News Service

Bread and Roses often comes under attack from local businesses and it seems the *Olympian* takes every opportunity to run a story that puts B&R in a negative or suspicious light. Most recently, a group has formed composed of East End downtown businesses with the task of revitalizing their area. As reported in last month's *WIP*, they have targeted B&R as the main, if not the only, problem. A strategy has apparently emerged through an attack on the Needle Exchange, a project of the Olympia AIDS Prevention Projects.

"The recent attack on the Needle Exchange is an attack on the Achilles Heel of B&R," said OAPP founder and Needle Exchange activist, Long Haired David, whose office is in B&R. The B&R Drop-in Center and Community Kitchen is just a little over three years old, and serves from 60 to 150 hungry people every day. In a joint project with OAPP, there is now a Learning Resource Center in the Drop-In Center that is equipped with donated computers. OAPP provides live saving information and educational materials on HIV/AIDS as well as distributing life saving materials in the form of condoms and clean syringes. The philosophy of OAPP is to work on all fronts of oppression. Things like racism, sexism, classism, poverty, and homophobia are fertilizers for the spread of HIV/AIDS.

The first East End meeting was held in the soon to open Titanic brewing company across the street from B&R. In the late-November meeting of the East End businesses, Community Development Director Ken Black, who has been facilitating the meetings, announced that, "Long Haired David's Needle Exchange is being closed down by the Police Department...it is unsafe according to the Thurston County Health Department." When staff members of the Needle Exchange tried to speak, Black refused to hear them, stating that there was nothing to discuss. "It is being shut down. Call Pat Libby at the Health Department," Black insisted. So that's what *WIP* did.

According to Pat Libby, Director of the Thurston County Health Department, although there was slight concern about the sheer volume of the materials, the needles were properly stored in appropriate containers and under appropriate conditions. Libby went on to say, "I have no reason to believe that the OAPP Needle Exchange presents a public health risk. Actually, I was rather impressed with the propriety of the facilities."

According to Olympia Police Chief John Wurner there currently is an officer working with the Health Department to determine if the needle exchange is a legal activity. "We have known about the needle exchange. I think the Health Department knew about it for a few years as well and it wasn't an issue...but once people complain, we have to look into it," said Wurner.

David maintains that "the first time I heard anyone publicly speak out against the needle exchange was at the meeting at the Titanic by one of the owners of the Microbrewery. They are the ones who moved in and upset the delicate balance already existing here. They are the ones throwing stones at Bread and Roses and OAPP! What drives me crazy is that our community sees no irony in a Microbrewery opening up across the street from a homeless sanctuary."

The city apparently asked the Titanic to have the meetings there, according to Steve Nichols, co-owner of the Titanic. "We didn't call the meetings...we haven't gone to another meeting because we are too busy. We are not activists against [OAPP]. Nichols characterizes his business as "not a tavern. The focus of our place is the sensible consumption of alcohol. Our product is going to be too expensive to get blitzed on." He went on to say, "I am not against [B&R's] mission. If they are in fact helping Olympia's homeless and poor, trying to give people some hope, then we are all in favor of that. We have no problem with feeding people."

The issue of visibility seems to be at the core of east end business concerns. Overtly supportive of making certain people invisible to downtown patrons, Ken Black at the late-November meeting, reminded the group that previously "someone" had suggested that B&R shut down their lunch program and that the clients "be moved" to another facility so that they aren't in the area during business hours. When someone in attendance yelled out that it was Black himself who had made the suggestion, he quickly moved onto another agenda item.

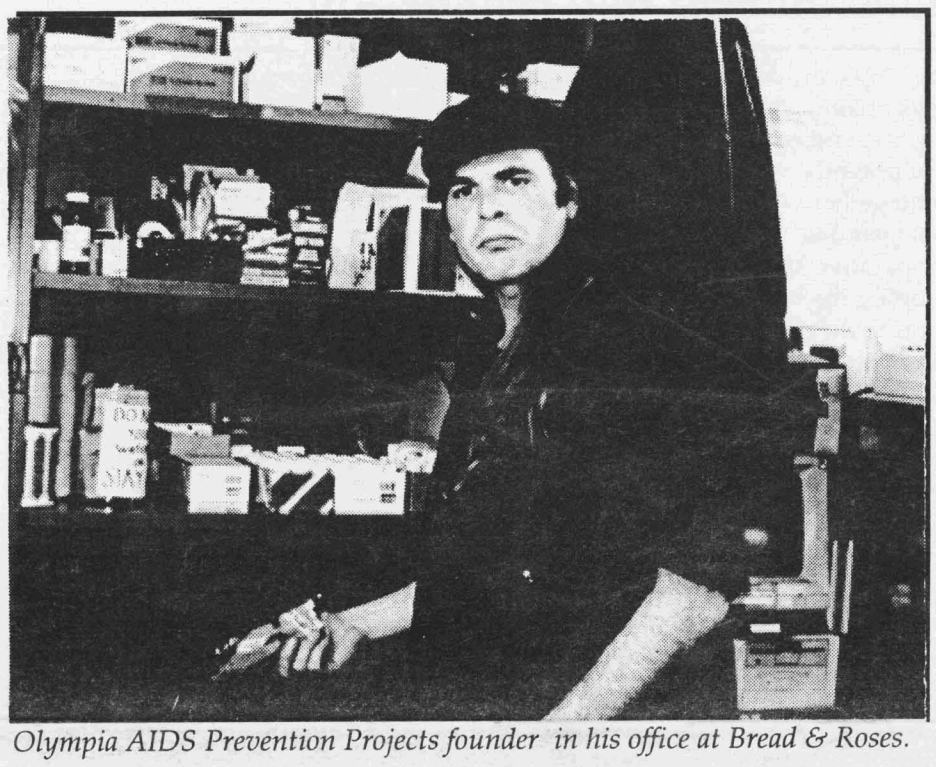
"Perhaps [the Needle Exchange] makes already existing behavior more visible, which may be uncomfortable for some," said Libby. "I do not believe that a syringe exchange program serves as a magnet, bringing additional drug usage behavior into a community. If the issue is drug dealing and drug usage related behavior in the area of Bread and Roses, I do not think that removal of the syringe exchange program will decrease such activities. In fact, it may serve to increase inappropriate discarding of syringes in the area..."

"The problem here isn't the Needle Exchange. It has nothing to do with whether or not we run a good lifesaving intervention program," said Long Hair David. "By us sitting here and talking about the needle exchange, we are doing exactly what Ken Black and other people behind the gentrification of downtown want. The more we focus on OAPP and Bread and Roses the more we get away from the real issue: the war against the poor! This is about how an elite group of developers, of business owners and city officials are willing to compromise the public health of the community to protect their own private interests. For a few square feet of white washed property, they are willing to sacrifice the public good."

As other examples of the local War on the Poor, David cited the Olympia City Council's recent ordinances banning car camping within city limits, panhandling, and sitting in "business districts."

Local War On The Poor Continues

Attack On Needle Exchange



Olympia AIDS Prevention Projects founder in his office at Bread & Roses.

"...[In] talking about the needle exchange, we are doing exactly what Ken Black and other people behind the gentrification of downtown want. The more we focus on OAPP and Bread and Roses the more we get away from the real issue: the war against the poor!" – David

Concerns About Youth

Nichols maintains that there is a difference of opinion between David and himself. "I simply expressed my opinion that I don't think a teenage hang out and a needle exchange was a good mix. Do we want kids to start shooting drugs?"

In response to Nichols, David replied, "Oh, they play on and contribute to the fear existing in the community about youth and drugs so that people associate kids with the Needle Exchange, when in reality we are part the solution. First of all, youth are a very small portion of the clientele at the Needle Exchange.

"Every summer we have a problem, not just Bread and Roses and OAPP, our entire community has a problem of youth on the streets. Many of these youth come down to B&R because they are hungry. And they are welcome to eat here. You have to be 18 however to hang out at the Drop-In Center.

"It only makes sense to me that if youth are exposed to drug usage, they should also be exposed to lifesaving intervention. If a sixteen year old walks up to me with a dirty syringe, and wants me to exchange it, I'm gonna do it in a heartbeat...I am going to say: 'This is a clean syringe. Never use a dirty syringe. Never share your syringe or any of your injection equipment.' That is the way I do outreach. I don't beat the kid on the head or pretend the problem doesn't exist. I try to establish a relationship... If a youth has a dirty syringe, he damn sure better have access to a clean one!"

(Continued backpage)

TCTV—All It Takes is $15 and a Dream

Greg Hohnholt

Imagine this scenario:

You're channel surfing around on TV with the remote and you land on channel 3. There's some bespeckled fuddy duddy on there with a pointer in his hand and a big flip chart telling you how the world could *only* have been created by a divine being. You've probably spotted this creationist before; his antediluvian propaganda is churned out by a CBN-type fundamentalist media production group and sent out to scores of the faithful who then get them on their local public access television stations. Like our own recently improved and enlarged TCTV, for instance.

You don't want to begrudge this guy his right to free speech, but let's face it; he's a monotoned, joyless bore, and you think you could do a better show. One that could be both progressive, humorous, and most important of all *entertaining*. A fast paced, non-stop potpourri of local talent, information, and FUN.

Well, stop dreaming, friends, because if you've got $15 and a dream, you can consider yourself on the road to video development and production. TCTV has just moved into its new expanded studio space on Yauger Way, and their able staff of instructors and production assistants can help you get certified to run their equipment and make that dream show of yours a reality. Membership into the TCTV family is a mere $15, and that qualifies you for their classes.

What's that you say? It's too much work to put on a show all by yourself, and even if you did get certified, you don't know if you could get together a regular stable of committed volunteers who would help you out with your show week after week, month after month?

Coincidentally, that brings us to the *real* topic at hand. To ensure a high level of content, variety, and stellar production and editing, I propose that all you potential video geniuses out there get together with me to form a *production company*. My idea is to form a cooperative-style group, where 10-15 people get certified and pledge to work a mutually agreed upon number of hours on each other's shows.

That's it. Simplicity itself. And local notoriety could be yours for a mere $15! Yeah, I know some details have to be ironed out, but just think of the possibilities....

• As a follow-up to my own Street Karaoke Project, how about "Cable Karaoke"? Viewers would call, e-mail, or post whatever cover songs they would like to hear local bands play most. The viewer could elect to be the singer, or they could cajole somebody else into doing it. Maybe we could have local businesses put up small prizes to entice the weak-kneed into belting out their favorite tune. Around election time, we could get local contenders to have a karaoke battle, with the best singer getting votes (now *that's* participatory democracy!)

"...stop dreaming, friends, because if you've got $15 and a dream, you can consider yourself on the road to video development and production."

• Don't like that idea? Well, how about a video tie-in with the soon-to-be-opened Liberation Cafe? This show could keep us informed of upcoming labor actions, demonstrations, rallies, updates from Hands Off Washington on pending anti-human rights legislation, live music, live call-in salons on important issues videotaped at the Cafe—the possibilities for this show are limitless.

• Or how about a parody/variety show that deals with the local foibles of our fellow Olympians (and the dullness of its often maddening newspaper)? This would an eclectic mix of revolving features, perhaps one would be Siskel and Ebert type program that reviewed other shows on TCTV, another could be a *TV Nation* type segment that pulled guerilla pranks and stunts around town—again, the possibilities for this show are only limited by your imagination and chutzpah.

I've got more dreams, but that's enough for now. Hopefully, this short list of ideas has given you a kick in the tuchus. Aren't you sick of having a perfectly good channel on your TV set *wasted* ? Wouldn't you like to see a more representative slice of life broadcast alongside the dolorous, plodding antics of "Real Estate Roundtable" or "Of Cabbages and Kings" ? C'mon, I *can't* be alone in my disappointment with the quality of shows on our local cable station.

If you're ready to stop bitching and start walking your walk on the cutting edge of video production, send $15 to TCTV, 2940 Limited Lane, Olympia, WA 98502. Then give them a call at 956-3100, preferably in the beginning of the month, to register for classes. Or call me at 352-5780 if you're interested in joining the crack production company I've described here.

Those funless fundamentalists won't know what hit 'em.

1996 Works In Progress Historical Calendar

★★ JANUARY 1996 ★★
"We must encourage creative dissenters. We must demonstrate, teach, and preach, until the foundations of our nation are shaken." M.L.K.
Sun Mon Tues Wed Thurs Fri Sat
★ America is a great nation but . . . ★

- **The back-pages of WIP that everyone liked! Now redone for 1996!**
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Send to: *Works In Progress*, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507

WORKS IN PROGRESS

Mission Statement: This organization is dedicated to promoting mutual understanding among diverse cultural groups and providing a voice for peoples disenfranchised by the dominant culture. We encourage the presentation of material by those most affected by exclusionary and unfair practices. Our aim is to explore the meanings of injustice and democratic participation in our society and in relation to the emerging global transition.

Anti-Discrimination Clause: We will collectively endeavor to be sensitive and respectful to all those oppressed in this society, and their issues. However, if and when we should make a mistake in this regard, we expect to acknowledge it and to express regret for injury or insult given.

The following statement will become part of the Editorial Policy and will be the governing tool for the Anti-Discrimination Clause: *WIP will make every effort to work with the contributor of material considered by WIP to be offensive in order to reach a mutually agreed upon resolution, but WIP reserves the right as a last resort to edit or not print submitted material.*

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Pat Tassoni
Dave Zink

Works In Progress is a community newspaper sponsored by the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the Rainbow Coalition or the Workers In Progress and are solely those of the authors.

Correspondence/articles are always welcome. Articles on disk (text preferred). WIP reserves the right to publish in whole or part all submissions. For editing purposes, please enclose your phone number. Send submissions to Works In Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507.

WIP Schedule

WIP article submission deadline is:

Friday, Dec 22

On that day, there will be a meeting at SPEECH (218 Fourth Ave) at 6 pm. Call 705-2726 for info.

Proofreading Meeting

Tuesday, Dec 26 at 7pm
Olympia Timberland Library

Advertising Info

⇨ Dave Campbell at 352-6132

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LETTERS & BRIEFS

First Union Contract for Washington Farm Workers Signed

United Farm Workers and Stimson Lane Ltd. — Chateau Ste Michelle — sign the first farm labor contract in Washington state history on October 31, 1995. Farm workers at the state's largest winery unanimously ratified the pioneering agreement on October 22nd. It is the first time since 1972 that farm workers outside of California will be protected by a UFW contract.

More than 60% of Chateau Ste Michelle workers voted to be represented by the UFW in a June 2 secret ballot election supervised by an independent five-person commission headed by former US House Speaker Tom Foley. The balloting followed a joint agreement signed by the winery and the UFW that guaranteed a contract after workers chose the union. Negotiation between the UFW and the company began on June 19.

Both federal and state collective-bargaining laws exclude farmworkers. An eight-year boycott helped demonstrate to the company that consumers supported their farm workers unionization.

The contract includes hourly pay from $5.75/hr to $9.80/hr for six job classifications, complete family medical and dental coverage, seniority rights, a pension plan, job security for regular and seasonal workers, a grievance and arbitration procedure, health and safety rules for protections from pesticides, meal-time breaks and paid rest periods, paid vacations (the best of all UFW contracts), and 11 paid holidays (including Cesar Chavez's March 31 birthday). The company and the union will negotiate the reassignment, retraining, or severance pay of workers displaced by the introduction of new equipment.

This contract will be in effect until June 1, 1997.

Leonard Peltier Goes Back to the Parole Board

At this time Leonard has an appeal going in the federal court, a campaign for executibe clemency, a call for an investigation by the US Commission on Civil Rights, a call for congressional hearings, and now Leonard has been informed he will be returning to the Parole Board for a hearing.

- Send letters supporting parole to : US Parole Commission, Air World Center, suite 220, 10920 Ambassador Dr., Kansas City, MO 64153
- Send letters asking for an investigation to: Mary Frances Barry, Chair, Cruz Reynoso, Vice Chair, US Commission on Civil Rights, Washington DC 20425
- Send letters supporting Congressional hearing to: Senator Arlen Specter, US Senate, SH-530, Washington DC 20510
- Send letters requesting clemency to: Bill Clinton, President, The White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington DC 20500
- Send letters asking for support of all of the above to: Rep. Norm Dicks, 1717 Pacific Ave., Tacoma, WA 98402

All this support sends a message to the US federal government that the case of Leonard Peltier will not go away until Leonard walks among us a free man!

For more information and to send donations: The Northwest Leonard Peltier Support Network, PO Box 10262, Olympia, WA 98502.

Letter from Croatia

Linda Beekman has been traveling to Sarajevo to bring humanitarian aid to the war-torn country. This is a letter she sent from there, where she was on her trip to bring medical and dental supplies and to see her friends Renata and Haris who are trying to leave. This is a follow-up to the article in the October issue of WIP. Linda works with the Tampa Bay Peace Education Program 130 19th Ave. SE St. Petersburg, FL 33705.

Zagreb, October 8

Good Friends,

Greetings from Croatia. I arrived in Split on the 5th of October with all 150 pounds of supplies — no problems, but I did feel like a donkey or perhaps an ant carrying all that stuff. Renata and Haris are well — I delivered $1000 in German Marks and $500 in US dollars; all total $1500. This will pay their expenses for two months. They have a small room with a small refrigerator and stove. The really great thing is that they are right on the sea, very useful in healing for both of them. This morning Haris found a large feather on the beach — he told his mother he wanted to give it back to the bird. He is like a tornado — always moving. They are both beginning to heal from their ordeal. Renata told me she left Sarajevo in the evening at 10pm and walked until 5pm the next day. She said when they finally got to Split she couldn't sleep for three days. Her interview with the immigration officer will be in about ten days. She will either be accepted or not for travel to the United States.

I am in Zagreb today, a 10 hour bus ride for only $20, everything else is very expensive. The press office would not issue me a press card; said I hadn't written enough. I will apply for a different card tomorrow at the UN and hope to be traveling to Sarajevo soon.

I hear many fireworks tonight in Zagreb; I'm not sure what they mean. I saw many destroyed homes today on the way to Zagreb. Very disturbing — I wonder what happened to the people.

Linda Beekman

P.S. October 9, I got my UN card today and am scheduled on a flight to Sarajevo tomorrow. I will schedule the supplies bit by bit.

First Openly Gay Washingtonian to Win Elective Office Outside Seattle Area

Voters in the city of Vancouver, WA, elected openly gay candidate Jim Moeller to the city council. Moeller, a 40-year old chemical dependency counsellor, ran on a platform that addressed the issues facing city residents, such as water resources, livable neighborhoods, and recreation programs for at-risk youth. He is the first known gay elected public official outside the City of Seattle to assume office while being open about his affectional orientation.

Councilmember-elect Moeller defeated his opponent, Ken Whitecotton, a 39-year old chemical lab supervisor, by a substantial 53.9 percent margin. He out-polled Whitecotton 5,698 to 4,867. Whitecotton made it known early in his bid for city council that he was running in part due to his opposition to the council's recent inclusion of "sexual orientation" in the city's non-discrimination ordinance. He is a former spokesman for Washington for Traditional Values, a Vancouver-based group that seeks to limit the civil rights of lesbian a gay citizens.

In endorsing Moeller, Vancouver's daily newspaper, *The Columbian*, said "Sexual orientation is immaterial to the city council race, but personal temperament is not...Moeller is the better candidate. He is a thoughtful conciliator, his opponent is an impulsive authoritarian. Vancouver residents need more of the former and none of the latter."

As a Running Proud candidate, Moeller benefited by receiving information about starting his campaign, suggestion for community outreach and media relation, and on-call advice from the Running Proud steering committee.

Running Proud, a civic organization based in Olympia that encourages gay men, lesbians, bisexuals, and trangendered individuals to run for elective office, approved Moeller for services earlier this year. Formed in 1994, Running Proud is pleased to claim Councilmember-elect Moeller as our first endorsed candidate, as well as our first successful candidate.

For more information contact Running Proud at PO Box 7703 Olympia, WA 98507-7703 or call 943-4662.

Support for Cecilia Rodriguez and the Zapatistas

Join with human rights groups and feminists to condemn the sexual assault on Cecilia Rodriguez, the official U.S. representative to the Ejercito Zapatista de Liberacion National (EZLN), on October 26 in Chiapas, Mexico.

Rodriguez, a U.S. citizen, was in Mexico and had just issued a statement to condemn the Mexican government's betrayal of its promise to find a political solution to the conflict in Chiapas. Travelling with a companion near Lake Pojaj, in Chiapas, she and her friend were abducted by four men and robbed. Rodriguez was beaten and raped. After the attack Rodriguez was told, "You already know how things are in Chiapas, right? Shut up then...do you understand, or you know what will happen to you."

In response to the brutal attacks, Nancy Reiko Kato, National Organizer for Radical Women, observed that the recent U.N. Women's Conference in Beijing showed the world that women like Cecilia Rodriguez are on the front lines -- in Mexico, the U.S., Haiti, Asia, Iran, Central America, on every continent -- battling to improve the social, economic and political lives of poor and working people, women, peasants, and indigenous peoples. "Zapatista women leaders have been an inspiration to activists across the globe. Women will not be intimidated into silence. Violent assaults and rape will not stop feminists in the fight to build a humane democratic, socialist society."

Kato points out that the EZLN's ten point program from women's liberation "is a vital step in transforming society to meet the needs of people, not profits. It should be enacted immediately." The Zapatista's demands for women are the right to work, equal pay, full reproductive freedom, access to education, leadership positions, quality health care and to have rape and attempted rape severely punished.

The National Commission for Democracy in Mexico, USA (NCDM), of which Rodriguez is the coordinator of, demands a speedy investigation into the attack; the immediate withdrawal of Mexican troops from Chiapas; suspension of all U.S. military aid and technical assistance to Mexico until all human rights violations are resolved; the formation of an international human rights inquiry into Chiapas; and a political, not military, solution for peace in Chiapas.

by Anne Slater

Correction and Food Industry Update

In last month's WIP, as a part of the Corporate profile of PepsiCo, the fast food industry was mentioned to be $86 billion annually. That was a statistic from 1994. The recent 1995 statistic reveals that it is now a $93 billion a year industry.

It's not a big difference (only a "7") especially when the numbers are that large. But bear in mind that the Tufts University Center on Hunger, Poverty, and Nutritional Policy estimates that for $8 billion a year, we could totally eliminate hunger in the United States. This is the equivalent cost of 10 Stealth bombers.

With over 30 million hungry in the United States, a number that has doubled in the past decade, the U.S. easily qualifies for its own foreign aid. However, the federal, state, and local governments are slow to respond to the obvious need, and seem intent on cutting back what is already there. The Contract With America is a Contract On America's Poor. The Contract is a continuing trend which is why 600 private emergency food provider agencies exist now, compared with only 30 in 1981. But they haven't been able to keep up with the rise in hunger because they can't control the policies that create poverty.

by Pat Tassoni

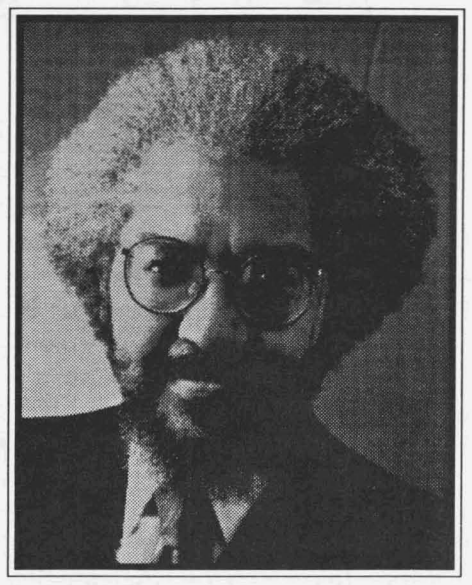
Don't Shop at Kmart

Kmart's advertising in the Detroit News and Free Press scab newspapers is helping to pay for the destruction of 2500 family-wage jobs. The two papers have been on strike for over four months.

A message from the AFL-CIO.

Along the Color Line

Inequality and Imprisonment



Dr. Manning Marable

Part one of a two part series.

Next month: Imprisonment

A central reason for the success of the "Million Man March" and its popularity among a clear majority of African Americans, was the general recognition that blacks were faced with an unprecedented crisis within the US political and economic system. Politically, both major parties had largely repudiated the legacy of Civil Rights reforms and the social welfare expenditures of the Great Society. While politicians campaigned aggressively against affirmative action, minority economic set-aside programs, and majority-black legislative districts. Within the deep structure of the political economy and legal apparatus, blacks were caught within a vise characterized by unemployment, growing social inequality and imprisonment. Indeed, the single most important material reality of American society in the 1990s is the vast polarization of classes, the unprecedented rise in personal incomes and profits among a small minority of American households, and the expansion of social misery, falling incomes and inequality for the majority of the population of the country.

We can measure rising inequality by comparing family incomes. Between 1980 and 1992, for the bottom 25 percent of all US families in terms of average incomes, their share of the total national income fell from 7.6 percent to 6.5 percent. Real average annual incomes for the bottom 25 percent, adjusted by inflation, fell sharply from $12,359 in 1980 to $11,530 twelve years later. By sharp contrast, for the upper 25 percent of all US families, their share of the total national income rose between 1980 and 1992 from 48.2 percent to 51.3 percent. Their real average family incomes increased from $78,844 to $91,368. But this actually underestimates the income inequality inside the US. One recent study by economist Lynn A. Karoly found that those in the top ten percent of all incomes earned 5.6 times as much per hour in 1992 as did workers in the bottom ten percent. And when we measure total net wealth rather than salaries or wages, an even sharper class division becomes clear. As of 1993, the top one percent of all incomes earners in the US had a greater combined net wealth than the bottom *95 percent of all income earners*. In short, a small number of individuals — two to three million at most — control the overwhelming majority of the resources.

"As of 1993, the top one percent of all incomes earners in the US had a greater combined net wealth than the bottom 95 percent of all income earners."

This massive inequality can also be measured in our cities. According to a survey of the 85 largest metropolitan areas in the US by Wayne State University professor Larry C. Ledebur, between 1973 and 1989, the overall average of all wage earners living in the cities fell by 16 percent. In the New York borough of Manhattan, where I live, the poorest one-fifth of the population in 1990 earned an annual average income of $5,237. The richest one-fifth earned an average income of $110,199 annually. In individual neighborhoods less than three miles apart, the vast income gap between affluence and poverty can only be described as *obscene*. In West Harlem, for example, a predominately African American and Dominican community, the average annual family income was $6,019. the average incomes for affluent families in one district of Manhattan's upper East Side was $301,209. In other words, for *every dollar* that the wealthy households have, *the poorest have two cents.*

The identical profile of inequality exists in every American city. In Los Angeles, the median annual incomes of the poorest fifth and the wealthiest fifth in 1990 were $6,821 vs. $123,098, respectively. In Chicago, the median annual income gap was $4,743 vs. $86,632. In Detroit, the difference was $3,109 vs. $63,625. And in Orleans Parish, in the city of New Orleans, Louisiana, the rich made 30 times as much as the poor, $83,389 compared with $2,793. Millions of median income households are forced to have three or more income earners, just to stay even. Millions more have been pushed into unemployment and poverty, while for America's privileged and powerful elite, things have never been better.

The conservative political agenda of the 1980s and 1990s, from Reaganism to Newt Gingrich's "Contract With America", rests fundamentally on this core reality of escalating, expanding inequality. The ruling elites have to hide these statistics, or at minimum, blame the hardships of white working class people on the behavior of blacks, Latinos and other people of color. "Race" is deliberately manipulated to obscure class inequality, and the decisive reasons of poverty, unemployment and social unrest.

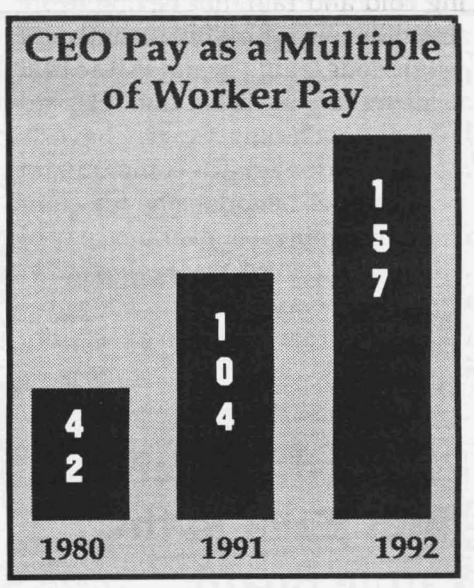
Dr. Manning Marable is Professor of History and Director of the Institute for Research in African-American. Studies, Columbia University, NYC. "Along the Color Line" appears in over 275 newspapers and is featured by 80 radio stations across the US and internationally. ◆

Average Household Net Worth and Income, 1989
in $thousands

	All	Top 0.5%	Next 0.5%	Next 9%	Next 10%	Bottom 80%
Av. Net Worth	199	12,482	2,984	737	243	38
Av. Income	42	1,125	254	111	964	23

	All	Top Fifth	Upper Mid. Fifth	Middle Fifth	Lower Mid. Fifth	Bottom Fifth
Av. Net Worth	199	840	114	45	8	–14
Av. Income	37	116	43	28	16	6

Source: Wolff, "Trends in Household Wealth in the United States, 1962-83 and 1983-89," Table 5, based on Federal Reserve Board, *1989 Survey of Consumer Finances*.



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You can add your own thoughts
and you can learn something.
That's the way people become human.
That's the way to become human participants
in a social and political system."
– *Noam Chomsky*

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A Living Memorial for the Homeless Who Have Died on the Streets of Olympia

The following were presented at a memorial to the memories of Marie Hedden and Gary Bach at Bread and Roses on November 8, 1995.

Marie Hedden, 9-2-67 to 11-3-95, died alone in her van, uncovered and cold in a parking lot on Mottman Road. She apparetly was asphyxiated from carbon monoxide seeping in through her floorboards as they kept the motor running to keep the heat on in an attempt to stay warm on a night when the temperature dipped into the low 20s. She loved the people at Bread and Roses in Olympia, and they loved her. She leaves behind a daughter and a son, boyfriend John Favuzzi (who loved her deeply), and a mother and family who lives in Port Hadlock. Marie's smile and warmth will be remembered by all.

Gary Bach died October 6, 1995, in a parking lot across the street from the Salvation Army men's shelter, after he had been put on the denial list. He was a child of God as well as a good human being. Gary will be remembered by all who knew and loved him. May God Bless His Soul.

May they not have died in vain.

Reverend Susan Grant

To have known a human being who died outside in the below freezing cold and rain, not having heard their last anguishing cry for help: is to suffer a lingering grief and guilt that is beyond any written word.

Enduring the willful disregard and purposeful denial by this city of Olympia of the existence of these homeless people and their problems: is as heinous as these senseless deaths.

May this memorial burn an eternal light in the cold hearts of the people who choose not to look at our homeless; in the memory of our homeless who have died in Olympia and across this land.

May the laws created in this city and state, start protecting the lives of our homeless men, women, and children, before spending one more cent to beautify a vacant store front on the streets of Olympia, or building another stadium in Seattle, and cutting money from the budgets of Social Service programs who help the homeless, mentally ill, substance abusers, disabled, poor, and the elderly.

May every city councilperson in this city and every legislator in this state and every other state bow their heads in shame. In God's Name.

May the truths of the deaths of the freezing homeless be heard from this day forward, and the cry so loud that no city, county, state, or federal official can turn a deaf ear to the cries of the homeless' sufferings. In God's Name I pray, also:

Let the families know of their homeless loved ones' plights and know that these children of God, who have passed away, were good human beings, who deserved to be treated with dignity, respect and humanity. They did not deserve to die alone out in the freezing cold streets of Olympia, Washington in 1995. Amen

Ado Mac and Robert

Dream Catcher

Marie

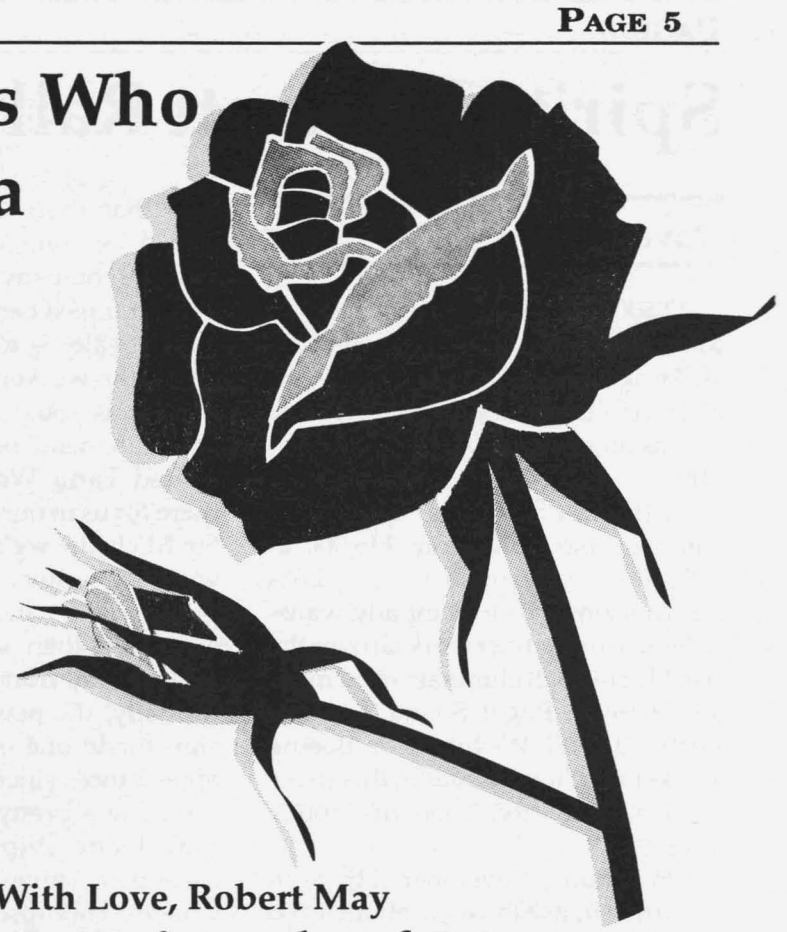
To have a dream is one thing,
To chase it is yet another,
Not to falter while on the wing,
Maybe find a lover,
Make what you can of life
Try to minimize all your strife,

Look to the good in yourself, as well as others,
Be true to your beliefs,
Never let them falter,
Allow no one to cause them to change or alter,
To catch a dream and be protected,
From the evil in this world,
Even though it may as yet be undetected,

Trust in you heart,
Try to live smart,
You'll catch that dream,
Happy will be your heart,

May you rest in peace,
May all your dreams at last be yours,
No longer will the cold chill you to the bone,
For your higher power has called you home,

With love from Bread and Roses,
And all your brothers and sisters from the streets,
Each time we look on a dream catcher,
Our thoughts will turn to you,
You are in our hearts as much now as ever.
We will remember smile, your way,
From all of us we hope you are at rest this day and forever more.



With Love, Robert May

A Friend of Nature

The season on this planet is so great so wide
Signs of damage show on the inside
Industrial greed not seeing one common need
As we're sent forgetting all we have meant
Some take many things for granted
After all they have repented
So still won't see repent
There is one meaning
Every tree, give your respect, where respect is due
Take the hand that shares the land
Look to mother earth
She will call us at her command
The owl, the wolf, the bear at Hand
She asks these things
Please understand

Peltier Support Committee

Susan Morales adresses a crowd at the Federal Building in Tacoma on November 18th. Dedicated supporters of Native American Political Prisoner Leonard Peltier stepped up their efforts in November, sponsoring rallies in Olympia, Seattle, and Tacoma to highlight Peltier's Parole Board hearing slated for December.

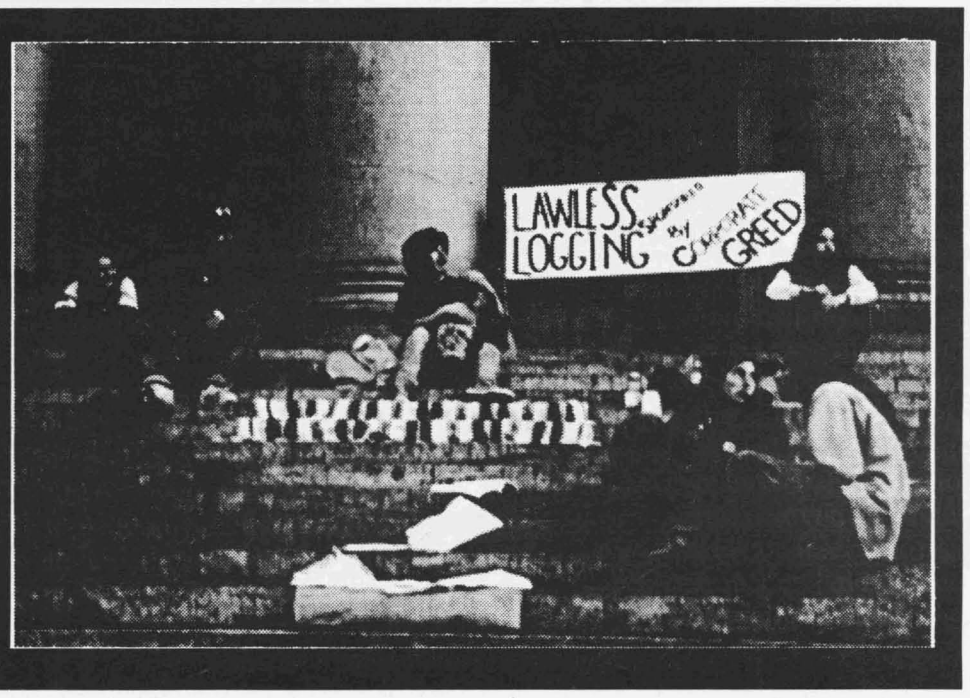
[See page 3 for more info]

photo by Hali Panneton

Protesting Logging Rider Law

Members of the Cheetwoot Wilderness Alliance fasted and camped on Capitol Steps for 24 hours on November 14th to protest the passage of the 'Salvage Logging Rider' and resultant destruction of local ancient forest ecosystems.

photo by Hali Panneton



Spirited Everett Rally for Boeing Strikers

Dave Zink

32,500 International Association of Machinist (IAM) members went on strike against Boeing on October 6th after rejecting an offer which they saw as an attempt to take away benefits.

In the last six years, the Boeing company has gone from 145,300 to 105,200 employees: a 28% "downsizing". The Company wants to be able to contract work all over the world. This will eliminate even more jobs here in Puget Sound country, Portland, and Wichita. For Boeing workers, the top 3 issues in this strike are 1: Job security, 2:Benefits, and 3: wages.

On Sunday, November 12th, with the strike in its 6th week, about 4,000 people - strikers, families, and supporters - turned out for a march and rally at the Everett Stadium, about 40 minutes drive north on I-5 from Seattle.

We gathered at the union hall and marched about 1/2-mile through the drizzle to the stadium carrying picket signs. On the way, I talked with a lady named Sam - Sam Dawes of Renton - who shared some of her insights with me. "People I work with have been at Boeing for 7, 8, 10 years or more. The company was smiling to us and telling us that our work had to be perfect - they push us hard, really hard. Management was giving us all this pep-talk about "teamwork". Hah! Now, through no fault of ours, its "Sorry, you're out the door": is that what working together means?! A lot of us were maxed out on overtime: 12 hour days, 2 weekends on, one weekend off. When you work like that, you don't have a life, no family life.

"Ron Woodard, one of the Boeing execs, and boss of my section, got a 2.5 million dollar bonus when he announced that 144 jobs in his section would be transferred to Mexicali. He got a promotion out of it too! We didn't even see him after that! The future of this country is mighty grim if companies keep doing this. And Mexico is getting poorer too - kids digging in garbage cans for food, and whatever. They're not even trying to keep a clean environment down there."

Retirees are also getting shafted. Many accepted an early retirement, which the company termed the "Golden Handshake". People were told that their medical insurance would be completely covered. But now the company is weaseling out of its guaranteed benefits. Boeing Company loyalty is to the shareholders, not to the workers. At the stadium, there was some lively labor music and statements of support from the United Farm Workers: "You were there for us in our fight with Chateau Ste Michelle, **we**'re with *you*, all the way!". Teachers, flight attendants, grocery clerks, and other workers also expressed their solidarity from the podium and from the bleachers. At the rally, the new AFL-CIO leadership made one of their first public appearances since their election victory. I was pretty impressed by the new leadership. President John Sweeney, vice-president Linda Chavez-Thompson, and secretary-treasurer Richard Trumka spoke to an enthusiastic crowd that responded with frequent cheering and applause.

Sweeney: "Boeing: we will not give in to corporate greed! This is not about working conditions. Its about squeezing every last ounce of productivity out of workers, and then throwing them out on the streets! Boeing productivity is up, profits are up, but worker's income is *down*! This strike will go on until this company starts to show a little respect for workers and the contribution they have made. If AirBus can provide security to its workers, so can Boeing! (European AirBus workers put in a 35-hour week, worker's average $10 more per hour, and get 6 weeks paid vacation to start, etc.) The problem: America is coming apart. The solution: American workers must come together! The problem: the American economy is exporting jobs. The solution: American workers that will fight back!"

Chavez-Thompson gave us a comical and quick Spanish lesson, and a spirited pep-talk. She ran trhough a list of unions that were represented at the rally.

Trumka: "There's a new kind of labor movement in this country, that's not afraid to fight. Solidarity isn't just a slogan to take out and dust off once in a while: from now on its going to be a way of life! Can we allow companies that make millions of dollars in profit turn our towns into ghost towns?" Recalling times spent on the UMW picket lines, he said "You feel a lot of things when you're out picketing. Valiant is not one of them. A strike isn't valiant, it's sitting around the kitchen table with your partner, trying to figure out how you're going to make your house payment, if you'll be able to keep your car, if you'll have to move, and how the kids will handle it."

George J. Kourpias, president of IAM said: "The workers have made Boeing #1 *in spite* of management's short-sighted blundering. Newt [Gingrich] says that we don't understand the new world economy. But we understand it better than Newt thinks. German workers are not our enemy. German jobs are now being sent to the US because of lower wages - the trans-national corporations are pitting workers against each other. This strike is between us and Boeing, not with other workers! And the NLRB (National Labor Relations Board acts the same, regardless of who's in power - Democrats or Republicans."

"Honor our picket line in respect to those who fought in the past to improve economic and social conditions we enjoy today. Workers have conducted many strikes - many marked by bloodshed."

In a letter she wrote to the *Tacoma News Tribune* a few days before the rally, Charlene Mizner, IAM member from Tacoma wrote:

" Over the past 20 years, there's been a reduction in worker's benefits. I remember the day when an employee worked at one company for life. He or she had good pay with medical benefits and a pension plan funded by the employer.

"Today, its not the same. More and more companies are putting the burden for medical and dental insurance and retirement planning on the employee.

"In real dollars - buying power - wages are down. Standards of living are lower. I see in the future two classes of people - the rich and the poor. I no longer see the middle class.

"I'm on strike not for myself, but for my 7-year old daughter and for all children. I want children to have a sound future with good-paying jobs and good benefits. I'm trying to preserve the American Dream.

"Honor our picket line in respect to those who fought in the past to improve economic and social conditions we enjoy today. Workers have conducted many strikes - many marked by bloodshed."

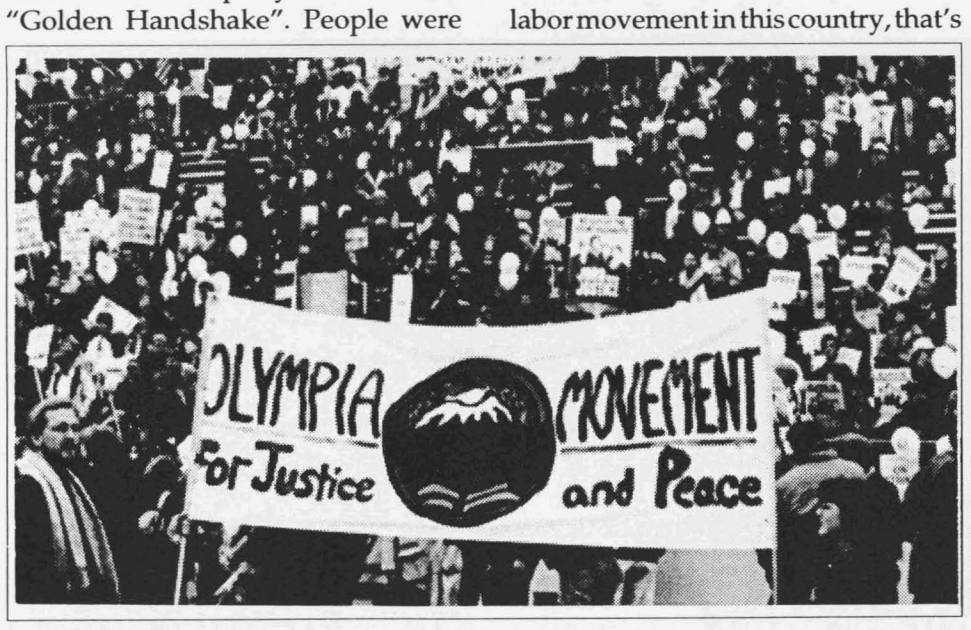
At a press conference just prior to the march, Sweeney, Chavez-Thompson, and Trumka answered questions about what their new leadership would mean to the AFL-CIO. "We need to change the labor movement. We need to show solidarity: labor must stand together. This leadership will be pro-active, not re-active. We want to train thousands of union organizers. There's gonna be a summer blitz of organizing activity around this country, and we intend to focus in the South. Focus must be on youth."

George J. Kourpias, IAM president said that this strike was symbolic of every worker's worst nightmare. The issues are the growing disparity in income between executives and those who actually do the work, wages not keeping up with the cost of living, and the company's attack on health and other benefits.

"There is no excuse for a company that's doing so well to treat its workers like this, while the executives are giving themselves such generous bonuses. Boeing says that it can't be competitive *and* guarantee security. This is in spite of its stock prices going up. Six billion dollars in after-tax profits, yet they can't afford to treat its workers decently. Millions of dollars are going into the hands of executives - clearly this is a case of enriching themselves at the expense of the company. But how about the future of our country?

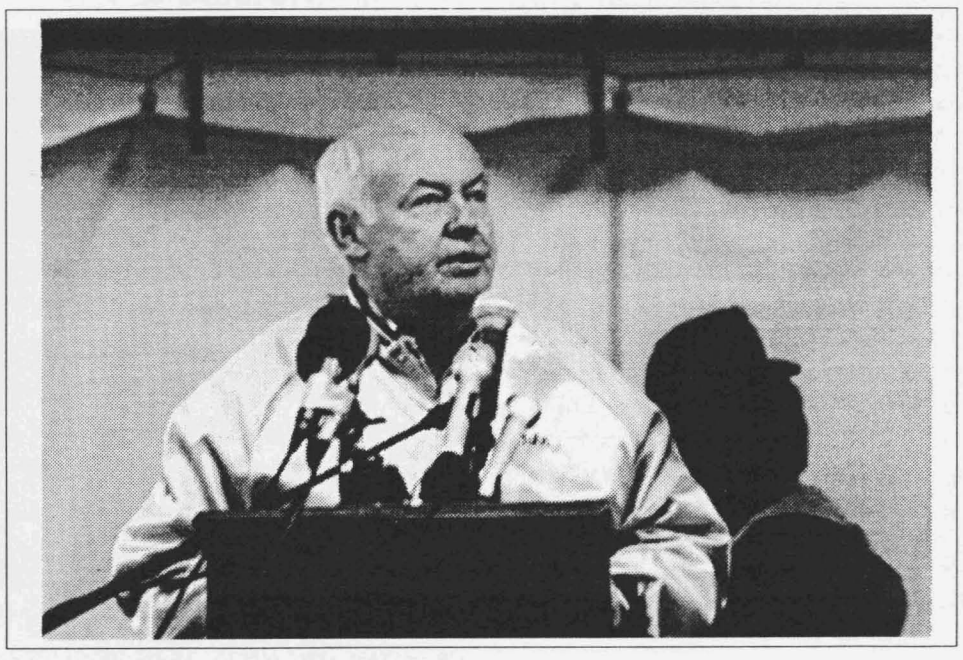
"Boeing has said that it has the responsibility to build up the infrastructure of China - who gave them *that* responsibility?! How about the infrastructure of Seattle, Everett, and Auburn? Boeing is out-sourcing 30% of its jobs to China and Japan in order to gain a market footing in those countries."

The IAM plans to merge with the United Auto Workers and the United Steelworkers. From what I heard on Sunday, it sounds like a new and exciting chapter is opening in the history of the AFL-CIO. Let's hope so. ◆



Hali Panneton

Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace at the Boeing Rally in Everett. Peter Bohmer spoke on behalf of the group, expressing national and international issues in solidarity.



Hali Panneton

John Sweeney talking at the Boeing Rally in Everett.

PFLAG Olympia is Building Understanding

Some are surprised to find PFLAG is more than an Olympia organization.

Actually, there are 19 chapters across the State of Washington. Nationally, PFLAG grew last year to 389 local chapters with well over 50,000 members, according to National Executive Director Sandra Gillis. Several times that number attend chapter meetings. The 1995 Indianapolis Convention in October drew more than 700 people.

Membership is divided between local chapters and those who join the national organization. Several chapters have received large grants to conduct training for educators and school-based organizations. Some newer affiliates serve primarily Asian American, Hispanic, and Native American communities.

PFLAG has grown most rapidly in states like Washington, where anti-gay initiatives have aroused broad support for the equal rights of all.

Project Open Mind

Project Open Mind is planned as a national campaign to make a positive change in America's perception of gay and lesbian persons and issues. $1 million is being raised to design, produce and present the program in three cities.

It was launched with a media campaign and by running videos on local stations. The ads will put PFLAG on the offensive nationally, and will provide a response to anti-gay rhetoric heard from the right wing political and religious leaders.

When the project and its TV video messages were unveiled at the national PFLAG Convention in Indianapolis, the crowd rose with a standing ovation, and attendees pledged an astounding $250,000 to launch the program.

Fundraisers are being held in each of the viewing areas to pay for placing the ads on local prime-time television. Washington State PFLAG leaders hope to raise the funds and make the plans necessary to run the campaign, perhaps as early as the fall of 1996.

PFLAG meets at 2pm on the second Sunday of each month in the parlor of First United Methodist Church, 1224 Legion Way SE, at Boundary Street, Olympia. It is handicap-accessible.

Parents, Families and Friends of Lesbians and Gays promotes the health and well-being of lesbian, gay and bisexual persons, their families and friends, provides opportunity for dialogue about sexual orientation, and acts to create a society that is heathy and respectful of human diversity. Write PFLAG at PO Box 6123 Olympia, WA 98502 or call (360) 866-0511.

Heartbeat *is a free publication of PFLAG published six times per year on the first day of odd-numbered months, edited by Paul Beeman. Unsolicited articles are welcome, due by the 15th of even numbered months. The editor reserves the right to accept and edit material.*

PFLAG is a tax-exempt, non-profit 501(c)(3) organization not affiliated with any political or religious institution. Write for membership information. ◆

PFLAG Olympia Upcoming Programs

Sunday, December 10

Pre-Holiday Mini-Cantata, a Seattle Men's Chorus video on how families struggle when a lesbian or gay member brings the partner home for the holidays the very first time.

Monday, January 8

Legislature expected to open. *Candlelight vigil* planned to honor Senator Cal Anderson and affirm gay issues.

Sunday, January 14

Supporting Our Loved Ones at Home and in Congress

Jolene Unsoeld, former US Representative from Olympia, will speak, fresh from her return from the fall term at Harvard University. She has been a staunch supporter of full civil rights legislation throughout her effective terms in Congress.

Invitation to Join PFLAG

Rev. Kenneth G. Prunty

What an opportunity we have through PFLAG. In each meeting we come to affirm each other, to be challenged, to explore, to learn, to grow. We can connect, network and build community.

In each chapter meeting we create safe and congenial settings for all members to meet together for creating friendships, building understanding, and equipping each other for support, education and advocacy.

We are part of an emerging global neighborhood, bursting through the boundaries of a closet that has kept us in the dark for too many eons. We are people connected, learning to love and accept, joining hands, lifting and encouraging, celebrating family and building bridges to equality.

We are wrapping our caring vision around each family, then around the community, and finally around the earth, that all families everywhere may love and accept each person as a lovable and capable person of worth, somebody very special.

Let's let our own light shine and give others the freedom to do the same. May we be liberated from our own personal fears so that all persons can be free. That's what PFLAG is all about.

Reverend Kenneth G. Prunty is Director, PFLAG National Convention in Indianapolis and the retired Executive of the Church of God, Anderson, Indiana. ◆

Violence against one woman is violence against us all

Helen Sabia

PFLAG Board Member Nominee Helen Sabia spoke at the October 6th Safeplace Rally in Sylvester Park, seeking to prevent violence against women.

PFLAG is a national organization made up of parents, family members, friends, gay men, lesbians, bisexual and transgendered persons.

We recognize that violence against women is a worldwide problem, one not likely to go away any time soon. Domestic violence is the leading cause of injury to women between ages 15 and 44 in the United States—more than car accidents, muggings and rapes combined.

Our country is the only industrialized nation that has refused for 16 years to ratify the *United Nations Treaty on Women's Rights,* implying that even in the United States women are second class citizens.

It is difficult to effect a change on a national and worldwide level, but we can make a difference locally. Safeplace, a well-respected crisis center, *is* making a difference with its lifeline for women at risk. As a community we are indebted to Safeplace, which offers personal, caring assistance to battered women and their children.

Violence against women, including lesbians, is an abomination that knows no social, economic or ethnic boundaries. PFLAG offers support for lesbian women who are victims of violence. We respect and understand the need for confidential assistance.

If you suspect that a relative or friend is a victim of abuse, please urge her to seek help *now.* Because a victim often feels isolated and helpless, it is an act of kindness to accompany her to a center where she can receive assistance.

Let us remember and absolutely take to heart that violence against one woman is violence against us all.

If every one of us extends a helping hand, we *can* make a difference.

Book Review

Sweat

by Joli Sandoz

I caught up with author Lucy Jane Bledsoe recently for a brief interview at Carnegie's, the coffeeshop in Four Seasons Bookstore. The San Francisco-based writer and literacy teacher was in Olympia to read from her new short fiction collection, "Sweat."

Sweat opens with "State of Grace," the story of a high school softball player who "fell seriously in love for the first time during a double play." Third base sacker Kathy and shortstop Charlene do their best to turn their softball collaboration into an off-the-field relationship. But Kathy notices that it is only softball which can bring out the "authentic" Charlene, the Charlene who does not hide behind parents and prohibitions to avoid forbidden (lesbian) love.

Sports involvement in high school and college helped shape author Bledsoe's authenticity, too, as both writer and lesbian. "I found my voice through my body," she says. She adds that it amazes her now whenever she realizes how closeted lesbian athletes still are. "That's how I came out - through sports. That's how I met other dykes."

Working with a group of people who used Title IX, a federal law requiring equal gender opportunity in schools, to force the Portland public schools into organizing basketball teams for girls cemented Bledsoe's commitment to sports. She remains an avid cyclist who also enjoys climbing and cross-country skiing. Bledsoe's own sports interests appear in 'Sweat' in her stories "Teamwork" (basketball), "The Pass" (competitive cycling) and "Solo" (skiing) and the novella "Place Before Language," (set at Mt. Rainier).

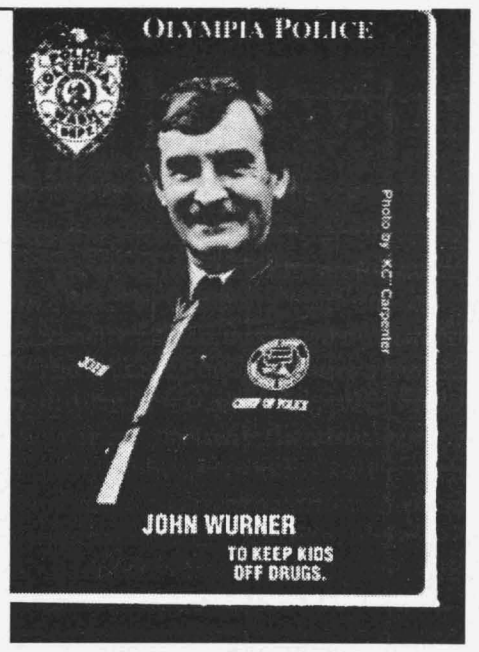
The relationship between words and the body focuses much of Bledsoe's writing in Sweat. There's what Bledsoe calls the fine-tuned "precision" of sport—illustrated in "The Pass" as racing cyclists rocket through a hairpin turn high in the mountains—which is mirrored by the mental precision she finds at the intersection of sports and writing. And there is risk, used by Bledsoe as a metaphor to put the otherwise-inexpressible into language.

Physical risk focuses "Solo." The story opens with its narrator standing at the top of a pass in the High Sierra, trying to decide whether to ski forward down an avalanche-prone slope or turn around to take the safe way out. The underlying subtext deals with a woman's memories. A second piece, "Sweat," explores risk from a different perspective when a coach and player move beyond their accustomed relationship.

Readers may be more used to language and the body meeting in erotic writing than sports and outdoor fiction. Several pieces in 'Sweat' focus directly on sex and relationship ("Sex Is an Ancient Practice," "The Rescue," "The Night Danny was Raped"). "Danny," in particular, explores themes of sex, gender and power familiar from feminist fiction, though with the added dimension of lesbian woman/gay man relationship.

But what Bledsoe does so well in 'Sweat' that it would be a shame to miss is bring the possibility of the erotic into sport, by foregrounding not lesbians (although she does this, too) but the unashamed physicality of sportswomen. Cyclists' muscles "flow with each pedal stroke"; athletes and outdoorswomen make love and like it. As softball star Kathy says at the close of "State of Grace," "For the rest of my life I would be looking for the kind of sex that was synonymous with pine nuts and spring breezes, hardball and aching muscles. For love that was grass stains under a sky full of stars, the snap of my wrist and a hurtling softball, the taste of hard-won sweat." Sex with the taste and smell of sport. Of sweat. ◆

DARE Is Just Another Gimmick



Local cards distributed to youth to promote faulty DARE program

Pat Tassoni

DARE is fast becoming a government-sanctioned monopoly. It is now in 8,000 communities and more than 50% of our schools. Six million children will receive DARE (Drug Abuse Resistance Education) instruction this year, and another 19 million will have classroom visits from their local DARE officer.

Here in the tri-city area, DARE instructors are in the schools everyday. The North Thurston School District has four officers — two from the municipal police and two from the sheriffs. It is logical to assume that the Olympia and Tumwater school districts have the same number from their municipalities, making a total of at least eight DARE instructors.

Despite such apparent success, however, critics have been increasingly vocal in recent years, attacking the program as a costly (approximately $12 per student) and ineffective way of teaching kids about the perils of drug abuse. DARE is just a *gimmick that serves no purpose other* than soaking up private donations and local, state and federal tax dollars to expose children to police officers.

Premiering in 1983, with the help of then-Los Angeles Police Chief Daryl Gates, DARE began in 50 schools with 10 police officers. It was taught in fifth and sixth grades, below the level for which the curriculum was designed. Early reviews indicated that the curriculum didn't work. Not only that, it had the dreaded "boomerang" effect by actually encouraging kids to experiment with drugs. Yet the school district had already adopted the DARE program.

For Gates and others, DARE didn't need fixing; what it needed was money. The solution came from Congress in the form of the Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act of 1986. Buried in the small print was an entitlement for at least 10% of the state grants to governors to go only to programs that included "classroom instruction by uniformed law enforcement officials" and meet other criteria met only by programs such as "Project Drug Abuse Resistance Education." By 1992, their share of the federal pie came to almost $10 million. DARE spokespersons claim the program now costs somewhat less than $200 million annually, but other credible estimates range as high as $700 million, if all money actually spent on DARE every year is included. DARE America supplies DARE diplomas, hats, umbrellas, pencils, shirts and other paraphernalia sold to promote the program. They also provide training for police officers.

> ***"But the dismal news about drug education is that all programs are qualified failures, providing only small gains that soon disappear."***

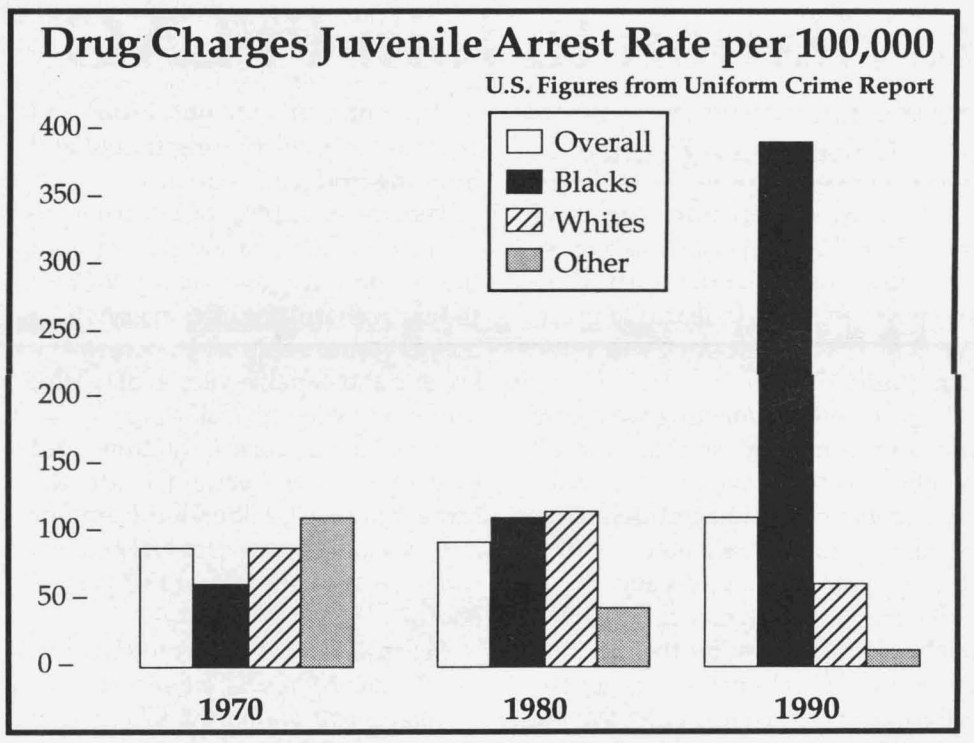
The Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act — now called the Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act of 1994 — includes more than $400 million for DARE and other programs. DARE was specifically held up as exemplary in two sections of last fall's crime bill, where it will be allocated $284 million by 1996, rising to $375 million by the end of the decade. Senator Joseph Biden, chair of the Judiciary Committee said, "As you know, it's a pretty popular program, so it wasn't a question of not including it."

The way the dilemma of drug abuse has been framed over the past two decades, makes DARE the foremost media and ratings ploy for grandstanding politicians and other public officials who want to "get tough on crime" and "save our kids." And they sell it to the parents. When the Clinton administration recommended eliminating drug-ed entitlements, the House killed the motion, 418 to 1.

But the dismal news about drug education is that all programs are qualified failures, providing only small gains that soon disappear. After two years of drug-ed, almost all positive effects have faded with kids smoking cigarettes and marijuana to about the same degree as the rest of the kids who haven't had drug education.

A three-year study, recently completed by the National Institute of Justice (research office for the US Department of Justice), found that DARE raises children's self-esteem, polishes their social skills and improves their attitude toward police. But unfortunately for DARE boosters, the study also proved something else: DARE doesn't have a measurable effect on drug abuse.

Incidentally, because of their conclusion, NIJ refused to publish the study. "I'm really not surprised NIJ refused to publish it," says Richard Clayton, director of the Center of Prevention Research at the University of Kentucky, "but I'm disappointed. DARE has a leadership role to play because it's in half the schools. An organization that receives that much public funding has an obligation to be honest with the public."



So what can we do about adolescent drug abuse? We've got to deal with the bigger picture, with people's attitudes in general and not just drugs. The Just Say No program created a problem by oversimplifying it and acting as if there were a simple answer to the complex problem of drug abuse. "Use" and "abuse" are not synonymous. We should focus on abuse rather that just focus on use. There is no evidence to support the notion that most people who experiment with drugs get hooked.

One alternative is called responsible use. Like the Just Say No approach, it does not condone alcohol, cigarette, or drug use by children. It differs in recognizing that most kids do experiment with some of these substances. Over 90 percent of adolescents drink before leaving high school, 23% of seventh graders have been intoxicated, up from 14% years ago. Car crashes with drunk teenagers is a leading cause of death for that age group. One million teens will take up smoking this year. Most start before age 16, some by age 9. Twenty-five percent of local high-schoolers admit to smoking on a regular basis.

Realistic or not, responsible use is not a message that the feds want delivered. Department of Education guidelines demand a firm stance of "no illegal use of legal substances and no use of illegal substances." This eliminates many worthy organizations, such as SADD (Students Against Drunk Driving). Despite a proven record in reducing drunk-driving deaths, SADD's recognition that teenagers drink means it doesn't qualify for any drug war money.

A new version of DARE hit the schools in the fall of 1994, with only limited evaluations about the pilot testing. The program now includes lessons on gang violence and added emphasis is given to the evils of tobacco. Perhaps uncoincidentally, the new emphasis on violence and cigarettes also matches new criteria for funding. The new curriculum is 70% more interactive than the old. Now there's no place in the program where the child isn't involved.

The new DARE curriculum might be better than the old. Although highly unlikely, it is also possible that it could be worse, more likely to produce a boomerang effect. And without research, we won't know what, if anything, will prevent kids from abusing drugs. Government funding is being sought for only a longitudinal study to be completed in the year 2000, at the earliest. By that time it is likely that DARE will be in all our schools. ◆

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Piecing Together Police Activities Locally In A National Context

Brother Earth

As we are about to end the year 1995, some interesting events occurred that has raised the consciousness of otherwise unenlightened citizens of America. The events involved illegal activities of officers on the police departments around the country.

In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, six officers confessed to setting up African American citizens, stealing money, assault and other civil right violations. Scores more face criminal charges. Revelations of corruption have thus far led to 42 criminal convictions being overturned.

And then, there is New York, but that's New York, and it is no surprise to hear about corruption and brutality there.

However, we don't even have to look that far away to find such stories. In August, the Pacific, Washington police department was suspected of corruption. A study found officers guilty of wiretappings, illegal drug raids, missing property and evidence, including drugs, and the unsubstantiated purchase of a weapon.

All allegations against corrupt police were confirmed and legitimated to the mass of citizens by the confession of a Los Angeles Police Detective by the name of Mark Fuhrman. His confessions ranged from falsifying police reports to all-out physically beating of Hispanic citizens. Officer Fuhrman not only informs his superiors as to how he feels about citizens of color, but that he feels so strong about them that he felt he should be taken off the force and put on disability. His reward for this attitude was to be promoted to Detective in another section of town to practice and perfect his racist attacks.

Yet we don't have to really even look beyond our own community to find such malpractice by boys in blue.

The Olympia Police, too, have a history of over-reactive tendencies. This was evident in the death of Danny Spencer while in custody and the targeted harassment of an anti-war protester during the Gulf War. Danny's mother received a few thousand dollars for his death in an out-of-court settlement. Settling out of court allowed the case to be eliminated from the OPD "record." The charges against the prominant anti-war activist were dropped only after an extended period of continued harassment: visiting her workplace, staking out her home, etc. OPD annually receives dozens of complaints against them for such things as excessive force. None have ever made it to court.

Individual events may be explained away as coincidence, and individual officers may be explained away as rogues, but if such occurences are commonplace, it may indicate wide-spread corruption.

This year the OPD over-reacted and arrested people handing out information on the Mumia Abu-jamal case during the Lakefair Parade. The Lacey Police bragged that they have increased their documented gang-membership from 50 in 1993 to 440 today. Their document used to make this statement was gathered by officers taking pictures taken of kids (usually kids of color) hanging out: without permission or investigation. These pictures are then placed in gang files for the propaganda of the LPD.

While talking to the citizens of Olympia, I have heard OPD's Detective Doughty accused of committing crimes against society that range from out-and-out burglary, assault, to setting up male citizens in order for him to look good to their spouses. He has also been accused of religious persecution against practitioners of Wicca.

Olympia's own Mark Furhman, Detective Fred Doughty is widely regarded as a racist and a bully with a badge and gun, who demonstrates his hatred of people who do not look and act as he does. Det. Doughty is backed by his superiors, including Chief John Wurner, a former Los Angeles County Police Officer.

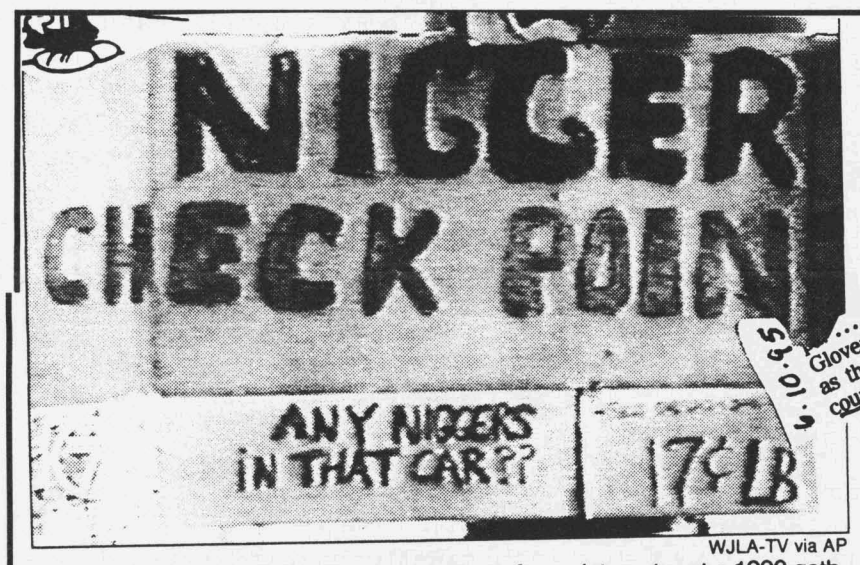
I have found that Det. Doughty feels that homeless people are less than human, and that the way to deal with them is to humiliate them until they leave his perfect town. On the Jim Gillette Show in Jan. 1995 (Capitol Conference), he said that people from outside his town were not welcome here to infringe on what he feels is right or wrong, even if he has to step on the rights of citizens.

If you have a problem believing this, try talking to the youth of Olympia who are being victimized. He said he can tell a gang member just by looking at them, and he immediately attacks.

Which now brings us to the well-documented attack on a citizen of Olympia based on race. On May 9, 1994 then Ofc. Doughty illegally entered an African American citizen's home, Mr. Ken Dean's home, removed property and falsely charged Dean to justify his actions. It took almost a year to have these charges dismissed by a hostile City Attorney's office, even though there was *absolutely no* evidence that this citizen had committed any crime. With a pending million dollar civil suit against Ofc. Doughty and the OPD by Mr. Dean, the OPD saw fit to promote Doughty to detective.

This type history has lived up to the label for the police as the "New Untouchables", above the law. Individual events may be explained away as coincidence, and individual officers may be explained away as rogues. But if such occurences and individuals are commonplace, it may indicate wide-spread corruption. If the citizens do not stand up to this type of tyranny we may as well rip up the Constitution outside of the Lincoln Memorial and prepare for a high-tech repressive society that will make Stalinism look like Xanadu.

Next month: Olympia City Hall, Mayor Jacobs, City Prosecutor, and the City Attorney's Office complicity in questionable police activities. ◆



WJLA-TV via AP

GOOD OL' BOYS ROUNDUP: Video image of a racist poster at a 1990 gathering of law-enforcement officers in Tennessee.

Treasury to probe racist activities at police gathering

By James H. Rubin
The Associated Press 7.18.95

Concerned that the credibility of its law enforcement agencies has been undermined, the Treasury Department will conduct its own investigation into an all-white police gathering featuring racist T-shirts and slogans.

Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin said Monday, "Our purpose is to get to the truth, period." The department will take whatever action is appropriate after the four-month probe is done, he said.

According to news reports, a former agent of Treasury's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms helped coordinate the "Good Ol' Boys Roundup" held May 18-20 in Polk County, Tenn.

The event was said to include the sale of T-shirts with Martin Luther King Jr.'s face behind a target, O.J. Simpson in a hangman's noose and white police officers with a black man sprawled on their car under the words "Boyz on the Hood."

NEW YORK 5.4.95

NEW YORK — The city's continuing probe into police corruption reached the Bronx, where 16 officers were arrested, handcuffed and brought to court on charges ranging from robbing drug dealers to brutally beating innocent people.

MASSACHUSETTS 5.30.95

DUDLEY — Defense lawyers say state police are unfairly targeting Hispanics for drug searches on Rte. 84. State police say ethnicity isn't a factor in decisions to search cars.

... JACKSONVILLE — Nat Glover, 52, takes over this week as the state's first elected black county sheriff. 6.10.95

■ **MINNEAPOLIS**

Officers must pay Indians for violating their rights 7.18.95

Two city police officers who stuffed two American Indian men into the trunk of their cruiser have been found liable of violating Minnesota's Human Rights Act and were ordered to pay each man $100,000.

A six-woman jury made the award to Charles Lone Eagle, a Lakota from South Dakota, and John Boney, an Ojibwe from Minnesota.

Officers Marvin Schumer and Michael Lardy were found to have violated Lone Eagle's and Boney's human and civil rights April 17, 1993.

■ **NEW YORK** 5.16.95

FBI targeting gay, AIDS groups, records say

The FBI is spying on AIDS activists and gay rights groups, apparently out of fear they might resort to violence or throw infected blood during demonstrations, according to FBI documents.

The records involve surveillance of the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power, or ACT UP, the Gay Men's Health Crisis, the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights and Senior Action in a Gay Environment.

ILLINOIS 6.2.95

ROLLING MEADOWS — Cook County correctional officer Michael Moreci, who yelled "I beat up guys like you for a living," to a motorist, faces up to $500 fine and is under investigation. The motorist he yelled at, Judge Sam Amirante, ...

WASHINGTON 5.12.95

SEATTLE — A judge declared a mistrial in the case of ex-state trooper Lane Jackstadt, accused of illegally detaining a couple headed to an abortion appointment. The couple said he coerced them to go to a counseling center; he said they willingly followed him there.

RHODE ISLAND 5.9.95

PROVIDENCE — Police officer Richard Ruggiero, 26, suspended without pay after he was videotaped kicking a black concertgoer Jan. 17, is to return to work today. Ruggiero, who is white, will undergo cultural diversity training.

RHODE ISLAND 5.9.95

PROVIDENCE — A minority group is suing the Police Dept. for failing to turn over copies of complaints claiming police brutality. The city wants the group to pay the $720 it would cost to delete specific names to ensure privacy. The group suggests 15 cents a copy and $15 per hour for clerk time.

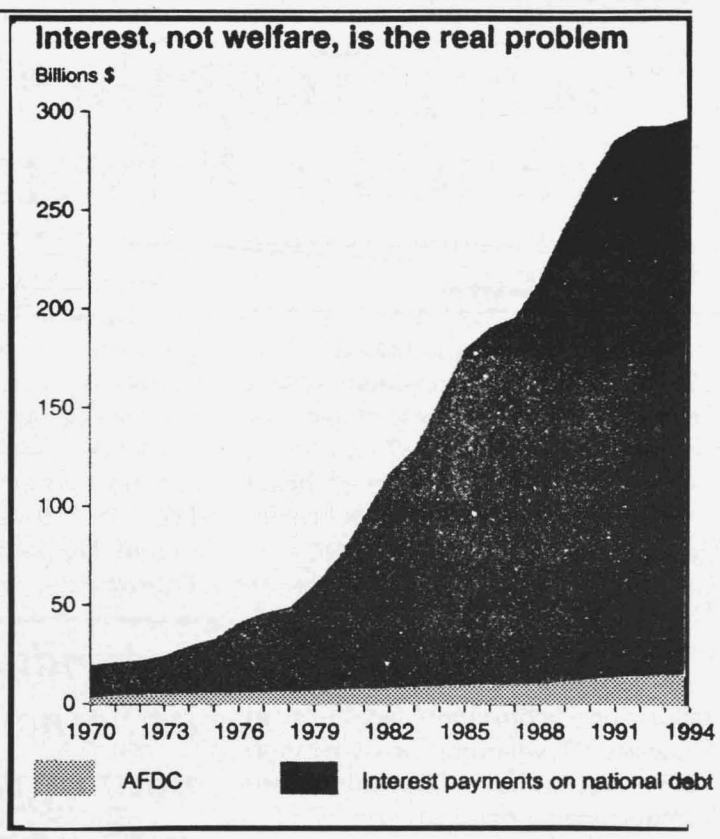
MINNESOTA 7.19.95

ST. FRANCIS — Ex-police records clerk Brenda Stanek will get $135,000 from the city to settle a sexual harassment suit. Stanek said officers handcuffed her in a closet and made her watch sexually explicit videos.

News clippings provided by Anti-Racist Action News, August 2, 1995 – ARA @ PO Box 82097 Columbus, OH 43202 (614)424-9074

The Effects of Newt's Right Wing Plan

Sticking It To Children Of The Poor



WIP News Service

Newt Gingrich's right-wing plans in Congress amount to a massive transfer of wealth from poor and working people to the rich. The goal of his "Contract with America" is to push U.S. society back before the New Deal. The Clinton Administration has shown little sign of opposing this program and has embraced key elements of Republican ultra-right goals.

They want to eliminate all they can get away with, then turn over what's left to state governments. Huge cuts in federal programs and civil rights are bound to create more poverty and cause the economic collapse of already overburdened state and local governments. Restrictive legislation such as balanced budget constitutional amendments are designed to prevent the majority of people from being able to change right-wing legislation in the future.

The Gingrich gang uses a two-prong approach to push its program. First, it tries to demonize those who are victimized by poverty, racism, sexism, and homophobia. Second, it tries to demoralize everyone by claiming that there's no money left for social programs because of decades of "tax and spend" policies, resulting in a huge budget deficit. But that is a lie. There is enough money to maintain and expand every social service, every health and safety program, every entitlement program.

In the fiscal 1995 Federal Budget, $400 billion went to big business in the form of tax breaks and direct subsidies, $271 billion went to military spending, and 12.5% more went to paying tax free interest to the banks. But what do they want to cut? The $14 billion AFDC program, which along with SSI and other major welfare programs amount to less than 6% of the total budget.

Nationally this translates into:

- 200,000 children may be expelled from Head Start
- 200,000 children will not receive day care
- 7.5 million children may go without school lunches
- Food and milk in WIC may be taken away from 2 million pregnant women and their infant children
- Up to 6.5 million more children will lose health care
- Almost 900,000 disabled children receiving Supplemental Security Income may lose benefits

Impact of the Balanced Budget Amendment on Children in Washington

- 30,650 babies, preschoolers, and pregnant women lose infant formula and other WIC nutrition supplement
- 68,950 children would lose food stamps
- 125,450 children would lose free or subsidized school Lunch Program lunches
- 122,700 children would lose Medicaid health coverage
- 92,450 cases now served by the state child support agency would lose help to establish paternity or collect child support
- 55,500 children would lose welfare benefits (AFDC)
- 2,900 blind and disabled children would lose SSI
- 5,800 or more children would lose the federal child care subsidies that enable parents to work or get education and training
- 2,500 children would lose Head Start early childhood services
- 14,050 children in child care and high school would lose child and Adult Care Food Program meals
- 19,050 children would lose remedial education through Title I

sources: Children's Defense Fund, the Black Community Crusade for Children, National People's Campaign ◆

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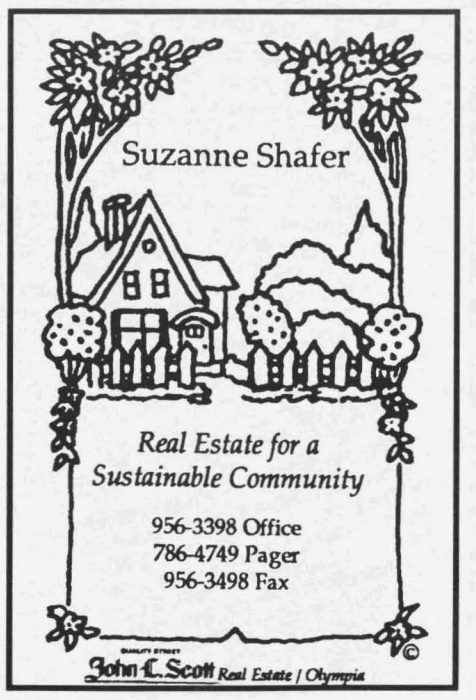
This fundraising event sponsored in part by KCMU 90.3 FM



Youth Must Be Allowed to Define Their Own Political Agenda

Alice Zillah

This is a talk presented at the 2nd Annual Social Justice and Equality conference as part of the opening panel discussion.

I've been asked to talk about youth organization, but what I really want to talk about is youth liberation. The word "organize" implies external control and direction, whereas the word "liberation" implies self-autonomy and respect for youth as a class. I also believe that at least the first step towards youth liberation is an internally directed one.

The phrase "youth organization" is also deceptive in the context in which we are using it here today, because the truth is that nearly all young people in this country are the victims of excessive organization at the hands of the government and within the family unit. We are well organized to accept and support the existing power relations. We are organized to believe huge falsehoods about the history of our country and about its current operations. And we are taught not to question the dynamics between men and women, white people and people of color, people with money and people without, straight people and queer people, et cetera, et cetera. We are taught that fractionalization and divisiveness are the norms between all classifications of people. So the first step for each of us is to simply question these dynamics, and when we do so honestly we realize that none of the imbalances are truly reasonable and fair, and none stand up to a good hard look.

This process of questioning and then unlearning false assumptions in our own minds feels uncertain and weird at first, because it flies in the face of everything we have been taught for so many years to do. So paradoxically the first part of organizing ourselves towards liberation is an individual act of disorganizing oneself from the dominant ideology. Peers and adults can be encouraging in the process of questioning power dynamics, but it is often largely an act of individual courage. A teenager or child can question their parents' right to be abusive, or the government's right to mandate their attendance at school, or their church's right to tell them that homosexuality is wrong, or the television's right to tell them what to buy and wear. Because young people are an oppressed class, they have decreased or no opportunities for significant action after questioning injustices in their environments. So this is also why youth liberation is at first an internally directed process—

political realities. As youth are increasingly recognized to be an oppressed class, it becomes clearer that, in the same ways that men cannot effectively or respectfully organize women against sexism, older people cannot organize young people for liberation. Older people must work to stop abuses and neglect of children and teenagers, but any attempts to define a political agenda for youth would just not be effective.

I do think that an important thing older people can do for younger people is to communicate past political successes and failures, which strategies worked and which didn't. It's been said many times by many different activists and it's true— we lose so much knowledge with each successive generation. If our opportunities for cross-generational communication

In San Francisco over the last seven years there have been over 1000 arrests of Food Not Bombs members, simply serving free food in a public place. This speaks to how legislated and controlled we are in this society, that even our bodily needs are subject to regulation and jurisdiction.

young people have less mobility and opportunities for political organization than any other group in this country because young people have no legal standing and are considered the property of adults until they are 16.

However, despite all these obstacles, young people still find ways to remove themselves from enculturated arrangements, and this disorganization opens the door for real organization around social change. Communication is the first step— young people can talk to one another and realize that their personal experiences are actually shared

about political activism were greater, the younger generation wouldn't continually feel like it was re-inventing the wheel.

When young people reach a point in their lives where they have increased freedom of action, they can do political activism with other young people. Groups that operate in an anarchist fashion— such as Earth First!, and Riot Grrrl, and Food Not Bombs— often attract mostly young people, and I believe this is true for several reasons. First of all, without set hierarchies and chain-of-commands there are less chances for oppressive behaviors to emerge. Secondly, there is more opportunity for dialogue between everyone in the group equally. And third, the decisions that are made through the process of consensus reinforce the importance of each person's perspective and opinion.

Food Not Bombs is a group open to everybody and the goal is definitely to be cross-generational as well as multi-racial, but here in Olympia we've been mostly young and white. For those of you who don't know what we do, we are an all- volunteer activist group that makes free vegetarian food available to people. We collect surplus food and produce from various farms and restaurants and bakeries that would otherwise go to waste. One study done in the last year estimated that half of the food in this country winds up being thrown away, as much as 46 billion pounds per year. Then we prepare and serve this food in a public place, so in Olympia our group serves the food in Sylvester Park at 1:00 on Sundays. At the servings we also have literature about political issues and community groups such as Homes Not Jails and the bike library. We usually set the food out picnic-style and let people help themselves.

One goal of Food Not Bombs is to break down the distinctions between the privileged position of offering food or services and the less advantaged position of taking food. We don't believe that those of us with money and homes and enough food are therefore smarter, more resourceful or better than those of us without homes or food. In this society it's just a matter of luck as to which class you're born into and other circumstances in your environment. In San Francisco over the last seven years there have been over 1000 arrests of Food Not Bombs members, simply for doing what we do up here, serving free food in a public place. This speaks to how legislated and controlled we are in this society, that even our bodily needs are subject to regulation and jurisdiction. Most of the arrests have been carried out under the umbrella of Mayor Frank Jordan's Matrix program, which is a collection of various so-called "quality of life" ordinances. These laws are aimed at getting the homeless out of sight and mind by making life so difficult for them that eventually they will have to leave the city, or at least stay out of all the areas where business profit is considered sacred. Members of Food Not Bombs have been arrested because they refuse to compromise the belief that homeless people have just as much right to public spaces as anyone else.

Although our group hasn't yet been harassed here in Olympia, we see what is happening in San Francisco as a sign of things to come on the national level. The current trend is to scapegoat all of this country's problems upon the least powerful among us. In our meetings we operate using consensus. No decision can move forward if even one person takes issue with it and wishes to block it. Majority doesn't rule, and thus no perspective is marginalized or invalidated. What I really like about consensus is that there are never predetermined paths but instead always slightly unexpected routes that come out of anarchist organizing. No one person can envision what the future of the group will be because its evolution is based on collective decision making.

So in closing, we as young people can begin the twofold process of disorganization and alternate organization, but actual youth liberation is only possible in the context of greater, radical societal change. Youth liberation will have to develop simultaneously with other struggles— for instance the struggles against racism and sexism. And of course many larger and more complex issues, which I did not have time to touch on here, are involved in global youth liberation. Working towards a society in which youth liberation is a reality necessitates all of us working together to share resources, ideas, anger, and hope. ◆

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There Must Be Some Way Out of Here

Peter Bohmer

Talk at 2nd Annual Social Justice Conference, November 4, 1995.

It is easier to talk about the growing inequality and worsening social problems in the U.S. and rest of world, and harder to talk about solutions and how to get there but I will try to do a little of both. First the problems.

Last week, the results of a major study of the income distribution of 16 industrialized countries was released. It found the United States the most unequal of the 16 countries in terms of the income gap between high and low income people. According to the measure of inequality used, the United States is more than twice as unequal as Finland and Sweden, the most equal of the countries that were studied.

Moreover, the tax changes just passed under Gingrich's and Dole's misleadership will make after-tax income even more unequal than it already is as high income people will have their taxes further reduced by the huge cuts in taxes on capital gains. Lower income people will have their taxes raised by reductions in the earned income tax credit.

Yesterday, November 3rd, it was reported that the Dow Jones average of the stock market reached an all time high. It was also reported that wages and benefits had increased by 2.7% in the last year. This is the lowest annual growth in this measurement of changes in wages and benefits since it was begun 13 years ago, less than the rate of inflation. In other words, the rich get richer and the poor get poorer.

According to *The Olympian* (November 4, 1995), the unemployment rate fell to 5.5% for October, 1995, the good times are supposedly here for all of us. Let us look a little closer at what is going on. This means 7 million people are officially unemployed, and this doesn't count those who have given up looking for work or the underemployed—the growth of part-time workers who want to work more hours, those in temporary jobs without benefits or job security, and the growth in minimum wage or near minimum wage jobs. Not so good times after all!

Poverty has increased from about 10% of the population in 1973 to about 15% today, about 40 million people using the official poverty line which is totally inadequate. 1/5 of all children are poor, as are almost 1/2 of Latino, Black and Native American children. Taking into account inflation, AFDC pays a family on welfare about 1/2 of what it paid 25 years ago. Yet, from watching the news or listening to talk show radio, it seems that welfare is too generous and must be cut further. The current massive cuts in social welfare from their already grossly inadequate levels are guaranteed to cause more poverty and suffering, particularly among children. Estimates by the government are that the current welfare "reform" will increase the number of children living below the poverty line by between 1.2 and 2.1 million, yet this violence against the poor continues. States are likely to even further reduce payments in coming years.

Reproductive rights are under attack as Congress has passed legislation almost totally restricting abortion at military hospitals and is considering sharply restricting late term abortions even when the mother's life is at risk.

The House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress recently voted to repeal the domestic partners law for Washington D.C. If it becomes law, it will end health and other benefits for gay and lesbian partners and others outside of heterosexual marriage in the District of Columbia.

I have left out more than I have included, anti-immigrant, anti-affirmative action legislation but you get the picture—scapegoat and take from those with the least power in the society.

I have briefly summarized some of the social problems facing people in the United States. A similar situation is facing the people of the first world—Western Europe, Canada, Japan, Australia—although in general they have more unemployment and less poverty.

The situation in the rest of the world seems even more bleak. There is an ongoing ECONOMIC CRISIS with massive suffering and poverty in most of the third world—Africa, Asia and Latin America. Since 1989, the third world has also been joined by most of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

Basic necessities are out of the reach of close to 1/2 of the population in the third world. Health and education decline as public sending in these areas has fallen significantly in the last 10-15 years. For example, in Mexico 2 million more people are unemployed this year than last year as production continues to drop and wages have fallen to an average of about $5.00 a day for those with jobs in the formal economy. What has been going on in Mexico—cuts in social services, balancing the budget, welcoming foreign investment by competing with other countries by advertising low wages and the least environmental restrictions–is going on in much of the third world. This type of competition is good for the multinational corporations but for the people of the third world it is truly a race to the bottom. These policies and production for export rather than production aimed at domestic consumption are being pushed by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, the U.S. State Department and the elites of most third world countries.

These disastrous policies which are worsening inequality and poverty are called neo-liberalism and structural adjustment (see my article in the November, 1995 *Works in Progress)*. Advocates of neo-liberalism claim that past and present government spending and production must be drastically reduced because they are unproductive and inefficient, and cause inflation. They admit there will be short run pain but claim there will be long run gain as the benefits in terms of increased production resulting from increased profitability eventually trickle down to everybody. I wouldn't hold my breath waiting for trickle down in Mexico, Eastern Europe or the United States.

The Contract with America is based on a similar political economic philosophy. There is too much government, or at least too much federal government spending and regulation. What they mean is that there is some government spending and regulations that hampers corporate profits or benefits the 80% of the families earning less than $80,000 a year. Therefore these must be reduced or abolished. Newt Gingrich doesn't intend to cut military spending even though the cold war is over nor reduce spending for government repression and spying on dissidents. The F.B.I. has proposed increasing its already excessive ability to wire-tap phones so it can simultaneously record up to one in a hundred people in some neighborhoods. The intense propaganda to balance the budget, which should be a non-issue, is a smokescreen for cutting spending for social services and the minimal social safety net that still exists.

The U.S. Congress claims that its solution to a too powerful federal government is giving more power to the 50 States. For example, with regards to welfare, Congress has proposed the States will be given block grants, a certain amount of money which they can then distribute to low income people more or less as they see fit. In the past, States Rights has been the rallying cry of racists and segregationists—to justify slavery in the mid 19th century and resistance to desegregation in the 1950's and 1960's. It is also being used today in a racist manner: to cut medicare and medicaid, to cut foodstamps, AFDC. Reliance on the State or local governments rather than the federal government is not the answer. Smaller isn't necessarily beautiful, not when corporations can play off one community, State or country against another, or when the policy and policy makers at the State level are as equally hostile to the poor as the federal government.

The aim of these policies is aimed at redistributing income upwards, to make the wealthy and the powerful even more wealthy and powerful, the same as the neo-liberal economics and politics that dominate most of Latin America and Africa and more and more of Asia.

What about President Clinton and his cabinet, Washington Governor Lowry and the Olympia City Council? Aren't their policies totally different from the Contract with America and the racism, sexism and anti gay and lesbian politics of the Republicans and right-wing? Aren't they our hope to stop the right-wing onslaught? I will focus on the worldview and related policies of the Clinton administration.

They admit that wages are falling for the majority in the United States, but they claim the primary cause is however forces beyond their control. The growing gap in incomes between those at the top and the bottom is caused by global competition and technological changes. According to Clinton and his advisers, increased competition of U.S. corporations with other multinational firms is forcing wages down. Furthermore, technological change is causing a decreased demand for unskilled labor, and reducing their wages. Their solution includes an increase in job training to upgrade skills. They support NAFTA and GATT so markets in other countries are opened to U.S. goods and services. Theadministration calls for more prisons and capital punishment, law and order to control those who do not accept a more unequal order. What is seen as inevitable and not questioned by them is that U.S. corporations can and must compete in the international market, even if this means wages and benefits continuing to fall.

These pro-corporate politics support maintaining some affirmative action, the right to abortion, oppose most overt discrimination against gays and lesbians, particularly if it doesn't cost any public money. However, they do not address in any significant way, the growth in poverty and inequality. In the State of Washington, the main tax cuts are for corporations. In Olympia, the police and

(Continued next page)

"...we need to build solidarity among people struggling in Olympia, nationally and globally: whether linking the efforts for reproductive rights and housing for all in Olympia; or building links between those fighting against NAFTA and the people supporting the Zapatistas."

(Some Way, Continued)

city officials, for the most part harass the poor and homeless rather than being part of the solution.

The global economy and corporations moving capital all over the world to maximize profits is not a law of nature. Nor is technological change and its impact. If we changed the organization of society, technological change that we desired could be shaped to meet human needs. For example, if the use of computers leads to large increases in productivity, the work week could be reduced for all workers without any decrease in wages or the standard of living.

What are the solutions and strategy proposed by progressives and leftists?

Some have given up a vision of an alternative society, a vision and strategy for a radically different social system. They work to maintain better aspects of the current society—the Endangered Species Act, Affirmative Action—and reforms: a growth in the minimum wage and the maintenance or growth of social programs. Many have increasingly retreated to making the best out of their private lives as they feel powerless to make fundamental social change.

A second tendency is believing that the cause of wealth becoming more and more unequal is global capitalism; and that the mainstream media and most politicians deflect attention from this by scapegoating welfare mothers, gay and lesbians, immigrants and African-Americans. This is true but incomplete.

We need to target global corporate capitalism—this is the source of much of the problems of the majority of people on this globe and must be overthrown. It is certainly related to major current problems in the U.S. and globally: meaningless and insecure jobs, growing poverty and racism, environmental destruction, crime, violence against women, etc.

Furthermore, the central role of the power of multinational corporations and of the system of global capitalism is left out of the analysis by liberals and the Democratic Party, since they do not question it. The invisibility of this explanation in the mass media and by opinion makers contributes to other explanations that are offered instead, including the scapegoating of immigrants, poor people, African-Americans, etc. However, racism and sexism in society cannot be reduced to the actions or manipulation of global capital though they are integrally related to it. For example, racism must already exist in the society for it to be intensified in periods of economic hard times. Unless racism, probably unconscious, is already a part of the worldview of most whites, we would not accept these manipulations by the elites.

It is not enough to say we should all just unite and fight, unite against our common enemy, capitalism. I am all for uniting against capital but divisions between people are real and can't be swept under the rug. They must be dealt with. We can't abstract from the real divisions among us for a fake and lowest common denominator unity. Unity can come not by downplaying issues like gay and lesbian rights, affirmative action, immigrant rights and struggles of oppressed people in Mexico, but by a principled unity that is forged by challenging all forms of oppression and respects diversity and autonomy. To succeed we need to build solidarity among people struggling in Olympia, nationally and globally: whether it is linking struggles for reproductive rights and for housing for all in Olympia; or building links between groups struggling against the North American Free Trade Act (NAFTA) in the United States, Canada and Mexico and in supporting the struggle of the EZLN (Zapatistas) in Mexico.

In conclusion, this means challenging the right of corporations to make profits and to move their capital to wherever it is the most profitable. If corporations move their production or threaten to move it as they slash wages, benefits and employment, we need to build a movement strong enough to challenge corporate tyranny. If capital deserts communities and their workers, let us organize to take the over the factories and workplaces to be run democratically by their workers and the impacted communities. This won't be easy. Capital will resist, call out the National Guard, and say we are challenging private property and property rights. They are right but unless we challenge the power of corporate capitalism to destroy people's lives in the name of profit maximization we are always playing by their rules of the game. As long as we explain it, we must not be afraid to use the *"s"* word—*"socialism."* It is a long-run goal, a socialism that is truly democratic and participatory which capitalism can never be.

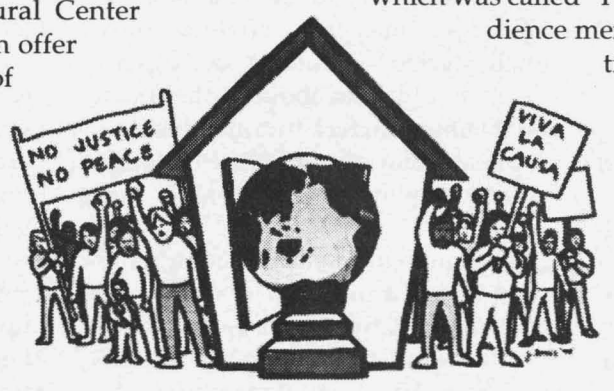
We need to link reform and fundamental social change, revolution. This can be done by working to advance the interests and power of oppressed people—for a livable wage, health care and housing as a right, by strengthen unions, for affirmative action and against discrimination, for making income more equal, etc. We need to involve more and more people and explain our actions and philosophy through an expanding alternate media and institutions. We need to connect these important reforms with a vision of a society based on human needs not profit, a truly democratic system where people have meaningful jobs, a sustainable environment, where we don't rip off the third world. Global solidarity is a key, both morally and practically. We also need to build democratic organizations and structures that are bold and committed to doing popular education, that resist the status quo and point towards a radically different future.

The growing oppression that marks the current reality does not create any automatic solidarity among those being attacked. It is likely to lead to even more of a police state to guard the wealth of the few at the top and the material comforts of a larger number of people but a minority. Witness the growth of the right-wing and the growth of the prison population to 1.5 million and the prison-industrial complex growing rapidly. However, growing inequality and insecurity does create the opportunity for us to challenge the official explanations of people's problems. It creates opportunities that by our actions, organization and praxis we further the possibilities for social justice and for creating a society where human dignity for all becomes the reality. ◆

Liberation Cafe Is On The Way

Lara Shepard-Blue

We are making substantial progress toward our goal of setting up a Political-Cultural Center in downtown Olympia. At the November 15 meeting of the Liberation Cafe: Olympia Political-Cultural Center group, we decided to accept an offer by the owner and manager of Bulldog News. We need to finalize a lease that will allow us to use, rent-free, the entire second floor above their Fourth Avenue store. We will be able to use the space for meetings, music events, educational lectures and videos, hang-out space, coffee sales, a lending library, workshops, and more. At the meeting, members raised concerns about access to the site, particularly for people with disabilities.



We are still looking for ideas, suggestions, and funding to make the Liberation Cafe, in the long-term, accessible to everyone who might want to use it. Be sure to see next month's WIP for more details, including our opening date.

Last month, the Liberation Cafe, along with many other groups, sponsored a visit by Noam Chomsky to Olympia. On October 22, Chomsky spoke at the Capital Theater, during the Olympia Film Festival. The title of his lecture was "Bringing the Third World Home: A Critique of Growing Inequality and Right-Wing Politics in the United States." The event, which was sold out in advance, succeeded in raising over $6000 for the Liberation Cafe: Olympia Political Cultural Center.

Chomsky's talk the following day at the Evergreen State College was free and open to everyone in the community. Over 2000 people attended this lecture, which was called "Prospects for World Order." Audience members gave over $1000 in donations, which was divided among five grassroots social justice organizations in Olympia: Olympia AIDS Prevention Project, Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace, Food Not Bombs, Chiapas-Mexico Solidarity Group, and East Timor Action Network.

We are selling audio cassettes of both of Chomsky's lectures to benefit Liberation Cafe. The Liberation Cafe welcomes new members to share skills, talents, time and ideas to our efforts. We also are looking for donations of money and supplies.

Next Meetings:

Wednesday, November 29 • 7 pm
Wednesday, December 13 • 7pm
116 4th Ave E • Top floor of Bulldog News
(enter BulldogNews and go up the staircase by the restrooms).

New members are encouraged to attend an orientation session— with refreshments!!— at 6:30 P.M. For more information and to order tapes, call 493-6601 ◆

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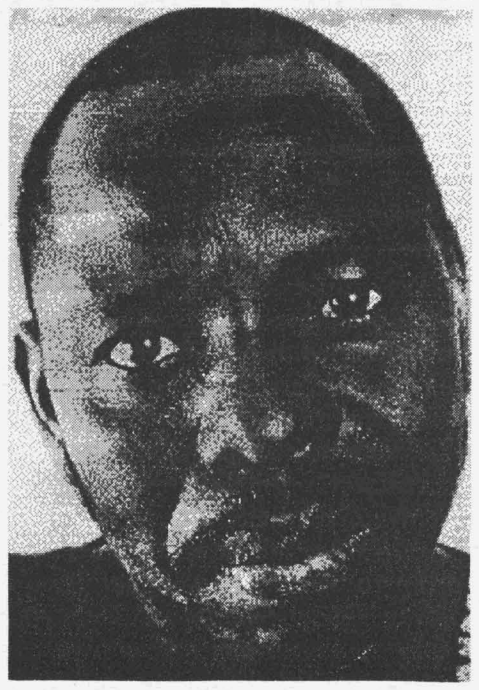
Portrait of a Trans-National Corporation: Shell

Activist Ken Saro-Wiwa Executed



WIP Net Service

Ken Saro Wiwa was a Nigerian author, and the leader of a minority ethnic group in Nigeria called the Ogoni, along with eight others, was executed on November 10, 1995.

Human rights advocates and environmental organizations in the United States and elsewhere criticize and implicate Shell oil company as contributing to the decision to execute the nine activists. Shell Nigeria's actions are indicative of the nature of transnational corporations. Their actions denote a hypocritical approach to the value of human life and the environment — actions routinely taken in Ogoni would be unthinkable in the 'developed' countries of the North who buy most of Shell's oil. The devastation of Ogoni is also part of a familiar pattern — through the exploitation of oil, the Ogoni's chief livelihood, their land, is being poisoned. Soon they will have no choice but become players in the economic system from which Shell derives its dominance.

"Shell has been exploiting the oil in Nigeria without consulting or compensating the Ogoni people in any way."

The Ogoni people of Nigeria, numbering about 500,000, have their lands in Rivers State, a part of Nigeria near the delta of the river Niger. This has historically been a fertile area, and consequently is highly populated. It is also the first place in Nigeria that the Anglo/Dutch transnational Shell started extracting oil from, in 1958. At that time, Nigeria was still a British colony. The British colonial government exploited the ethnic dominance of groups by ruling through the existing aristocracy, reinforcing the historical imbalances already present. The post-colonial history has been marked by massive instability, including a number of coups, as a result of conflict between the leading three ethnic groups. The smaller ethnic groups, such as the Ogoni, have been systematically excluded from positions of power.

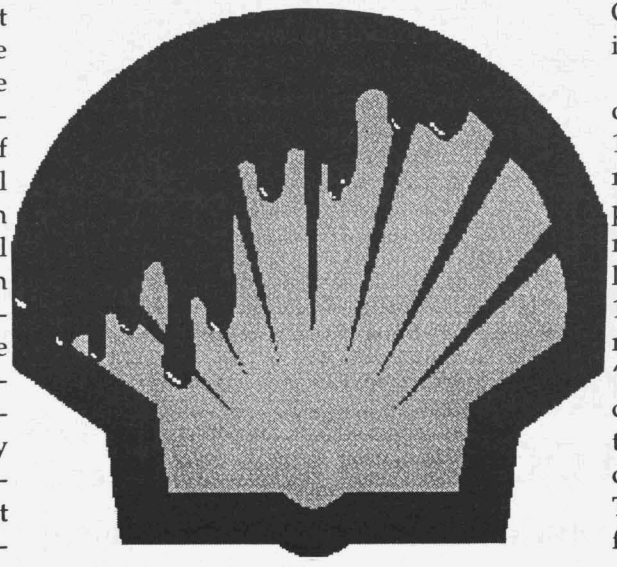
Orogiland has been important to Nigeria for two reasons: firstly, it has been termed the 'breadbasket' of Rivers State, a major food producing area, and secondly, since 1958, it has been the source of more than 900-million barrels of crude oil, vital to the Nigerian economy. Shell operations in Nigeria are operated by the Shell petroleum Development Company in a joint venture agreement with the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation. Almost 14% of Shell's production — the greatest production outside the USA — comes from Nigeria. Since Shell started operations in Nigeria, Ogoni has yielded about $30 billion in oil revenues. In fact, the oil industry is at present the only part of the Nigerian economy which hasn't largely collapsed.

Although international attention is now being focussed on democracy in Nigeria, and pressure is being placed on the Nigerian dictatorship of General Sani Abacha to democratize the country, little is said of the role of the Western transnational corporations which prop up the Abacha's dictatorship.

Shell has been exploiting the oil in Nigeria without consulting or compensating the Ogoni people in any way. The Ogoni people are a minority, and thus have little political power, since the Nigerian constitution doesn't protect minority interests. They have no mineral rights to their land. They are merely the victims when oil spills, blowouts, and invasive pipe laying cause environmental damage. Shell has not been effective in cleaning up oil spills, and as a consequence, Ogoniland has lost its fertility.

In 1990, The Ogoni started to mobilize against the human and environmental injustice perpetrated upon them. They formed MOSOP, the Movement for Survival of Ogoni People, a peaceful resistance movement which attempts to highlight their plight under the leadership of Ken Saro-Wiwa.

The response to MOSOP's protests has been brutal. Ogoniland is now sealed off, and under martial law. Ken Saro-Wiwa has been executed along with eight other Ogoni. Hundreds of Ogoni have been murdered. The abuses that are perpetrated in Nigeria (directly in the form of spills and blowouts, and indirectly by the Nigerian government to protect Shell's interests) would be unacceptable in the countries where Shell sells most of its oil. While Shell International claims that its actions and those of Shell Nigeria are not linked, this is a transparent ploy to deny culpability. Shell profits are built upon Ogoni suffering.



By the end of January 1994, the eight major oil companies estimate their losses during 1993 at $200 million, due to "unfavorable conditions in the areas of operation." They called for urgent measures to combat the situation. There is considerable evidence that Shell colluded with the Nigerian government in attacks on Ogoni people.

The most significant brutalities against the Ogoni have happened after Shell has expressed concern about perceived threats to the Nigerian government. A memo signed by Major Okuntimo of the Rivers State Internal Security Task Force, dated May 12th, 1994, states: "Shell operations are still impossible unless ruthless military operations are undertaken for smooth economic activities to commence." The document goes on to recommend the "wasting" of Ogoni leaders. Ken Saro-Wiwa was arrested on the May the 22nd, ten days later.

Ken Saro-Wiwa was held, without legal recourse, and without medical attention, for many months. He was also tortured. The charges against him (the supposed murder of four Ogoni activists) were so ridiculous that Amnesty International declared him a prisoner of conscience. His trial was a total farce, run under the auspices of Civil Disturbances Special Tribunal, which is only answerable to Military Government. The Tribunal rejected defense evidence of the bribing of two key prosecution witnesses testifying against Saro-Wiwa. The defense team resigned feeling the outcome of the trial wa pre-determined to find the defendants guilty. Saro-Wiwa declined any further legal assistance in his defense and instead read a final statement to the Tribunal at its conclusion: 'In my innocence of the false charges I face here, in my utter conviction I call upon the Ogoni people, the peoples of the Niger delta, and the oppressed ethnic minorities of Nigeria to stand up now and fight fearlessly and peacefully for their rights. History is on their side. God is on their side."

Saro-Wiwa and eight other Ogoni leaders were sentenced to death on the 31st of October. Despite international calls for clemency, Saro-Wiwa and his eight co-trialists were executed. ◆

Ken Saro-Wiwa's Statement

We all stand before history. I am a man of peace, of ideas. Appalled by the denigrating poverty of my people who live on a richly endowed land, distressed by their political marginilization and economic strangulation, angered by the devastation of their land, their ultimate heritage, anxious to preserve their right to life and to a decent living, and determined to usher to this country as a whole a fair and just democratic system which protects everyone and every ethnic group and gives us all a valid claim to human civilization, I have devoted my intellectual and material resources, my very life, to a cause in which I have total belief and from which I cannot be blackmailed or intimidated. I have no doubt at all about the ultimate success of my cause, no matter the trials and tribulations which I and those who believe with me may encounter on our journey. Nor imprisonment nor death can stop our ultimate victory.

I repeat that we all stand before history. I and my colleagues are not the only ones on trial. Shell is here on trial and it is as well that it is represented by counsel said to be holding a watching brief. The Company has, indeed, ducked this particular trial, but its day will surely come and the lessons learnt here may prove useful to it for there is no doubt in my mind that the ecological war that the Company has waged in the Delta will be called to question sooner than later; and the crimes of that war be duly punished. The crime of the Company's dirty wars against the Ogoni people will also be punished.

On trial also is the Nigerian nation, its present rulers and those who assist them. Any nation which can do to the weak and disadvantaged what the Nigerian nation has done to the Ogoni, loses a claim to independence and to freedom from outside influence. I am not one of those who shy away from protesting injustice and oppression, arguing that they are expected in a military regime. The military do not act alone. They are supported by a gaggle of politicians, lawyers, judges, academics and businessmen, all of them hiding under the claim that they are only doing their duty, men and women too afraid to wash their pants of urine. We all stand on trial, my lord, for by our actions we have denigrated our Country and jeopardized the future of our children. As we subscribe to the sub-normal and accept double standards, as we lie and cheat openly, as we protect injustice and oppression, we empty out classrooms, denigrate our hospitals, fill our stomachs with hunger and elect to make ourselves the slaves of those who ascribe to higher standards, pursue the truth, and honor justice, freedom, and hard work. I predict that the scene here will be played and replayed by generations yet unborn. Some have already cast themselves in the role of villains, some are tragic victims, some still have a chance to redeem themselves. The choice is for each individual.

I predict that the denouement of the riddle of the Niger delta will soon come. The agenda is being set at this trial. Whether the peaceful ways I have favored will prevail depends on what the oppressor decides, what signals it sends out to the waiting public.

The Battle Between A Multi-national and Greenpeace Germany

The 10-Day Boycott that Rocked the World

Zachary D. Lyons

The boycott of Shell, was, without question, one for the record books, and the people of Europe taught one of the largest companies on Earth a ten-day lesson in the economic theory of supply and demand that may have changed the battlefields of the activist community forever.

The controversy over the British government's defense of its decision to permit Royal Dutch/Shell to scuttle its offshore oil storage rig, the Brent Spar, off the North coast of Scotland in the deep waters of the North Atlantic erupted this past June when Greenpeace Germany challenged the environmental responsibility of Shells' plans. Shell argued that a sea burial is the best way to get rid of the disused rig, which contains toxic and radioactive substances, but environmentalists expressed concern about the pollution and said it could set a dangerous precedent for other oil platforms in the North Sea. While Shell UK defended its plans to bury the Brent Spar at sea, Shell's German unit complained that a boycott directed at them is unfair as it cannot affect the actions of its British sister company.

And while Greenpeace continued to use direct action to slow the sinking, and challenged the safety of the sinking in protests throughout Europe, Shell continued to defend itself. "The deepwater disposal plan for the Brent Spar, which Shell UK recommended after three years of painstaking analysis, and which the government has authorized complies fully with established international regulatory principles, " Shell said.

But the pleas of Shell's public relations machine fell on deaf ears across Europe, and one of the largest and most economically devastating boycotts in modern history erupted out of Germany and spread rapidly throughout the continent. If anyone doubted the power of the boycott before June 11, 1995, no one did after June 20, 1995.

What follows is an account of the ten-day boycott that Royal Dutch/Shell and other multinational corporations will not soon forget, with information as reported in Reuters news service:

June 11 - Shell began towing its obsolete oil rig out to its deep sea grave site.

June 13 - Reuter Worldwide had reported the first sales impact on Shell. "Sales at Shell petrol stations in Germany have been hit after calls from environmentalist to boycott the firm..." said company spokesman Thomas Mueller.

June 16 - Shell UK said that it would pursue the hotly contested plan to dump the polluted oil rig at sea. The British government also said it would continue to support the plan, despite the stern opposition Prime Minister John Major has faced from German Chancellor Helmut Kohl over the issue.

Meanwhile, Greenpeace, which continued to trail the platform by boat to monitor its progress and stage last-ditch protests on the high seas, landed two protestors by helicopter on the rig. "Two of our people are on the Brent Spar. They are fully equipped and have enough to last for a few days," said Marius Frederikse at the group's international headquarters in Amsterdam. Frederikse said the helicopter had to fly through a curtain of water fired from cannons aboard a flotilla of boats escorting the platform.

The attack by the Shell boats on the Greenpeace helicopter made for some of the most dramatic pictures during the dispute, and resulted in the single largest media attention focused on the dispute internationally as the video footage was wired around the world.

"...vandals in Germany firebombed two Shell petrol stations and hurled fire-works and bottles at a third. The attackers threw petrol bombs into one filling station's sales room, which was destroyed in the ensuing blaze, and spray-painted the words "don't sink the oil platform" on the wall."

June 17 - As the Brent Spar platform made its slow way towards its planned dumping ground in deep water off the Hebrides Islands in Scotland, vandals in Germany firebombed two Shell petrol stations and hurled fire-works and bottles at a third. The attackers threw petrol bombs into one filling station's sales room, which was destroyed in the ensuing blaze, and spray-painted the words "don't sink the oil platform" on the wall.

A poll by RTL television showed that two out of three Germans were boycotting Shell, prompting the company to consider financial relief for hard-hit petrol stations.

In Britain, Greenpeace activists demonstrated at 100 filling stations, urging motorists to boycott Shell fuel.

German Shell chief Peter Duncan told *Der Spiegel* magazine that business was down more than 20 percent at most stations and by more than half at some.

Shell UK appealed to its customers, offering in a statement to explain the situation to any customer who contacted them. Chairman Chris Faye insisted sea-dumping was the best way of disposing of the rig.

June 19 - Greenpeace had organized Shell boycotts or anti-Shell goods campaigns in Britain, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Denmark, Luxembourg, Sweden, and Belgium.

June 20 - Swedish Environmental Minister Anna Lindh said, "As a minister I can't tell people to boycott Shell, but if I had a car I wouldn't fill it up at Shell and I assume that my staff wouldn't do it either."

Spanish ecologist said they had urged motorists to join the international boycott of Shell. The Ecology Association in Defense of Nature asked Spaniards to stop buying petrol from Shell stations and to send letter of protest to Shell's Spanish headquarters.

Shell announced late on June 20 that it had abandoned its deep water disposal plans and would ask the UK authorities for a license to dispose of the Brent Spar onshore. The company noted the "Strong objections" voiced by other governments.

"This is a victory not only for the environment and Greenpeace, but for the tens of thousands of people who protested across Europe and well beyond to bring about this change," said Greenpeace's Paul Horseman. "This decision also shows that if a Government or a multinational company makes a bad environmental decision, it can be reversed," Horsman continued.

The higher abandonment cost for dismantling the Brent Spar onshore, reported Reuter's Tim Farrand — put at $78 million by Shell UK against $16 for deep sea burial — are dwarfed by group profits last year of $6.5. billion

The boycott of German Shell petrol stations hit owners, who reported sales down by between 20 and 50 percent. But analysts say a 20 percent fall in sales in Germany would represent a 19,000 barrels-a-day decline against total Shell 1994 oil products sales of 5.6 million barrels per day. Oil analysts estimate in profit terms it amounted to $30,500 per day lost.

June 22 - Sweden called for a two-year moratorium on the dumping of oil platforms. Germany and Denmark had called for a total ban on dumping of rigs at sea just the day before.

June 27 - The German subsidiary of Shell apologized to Germans for paying more attention to scientists and authorities than to customers' wishes over the aborted sinking of the obsolete Brent Spar oil storage buoy. The company took out full-page advertisements in several German national newspapers. "We are going to change," it told its customers. "We have learned that for certain decisions, your agreement is just as important as the opinion of experts or the approval of the authorities. Even though the original decision by Shell UK was in complete conformity with British law and in particular with the international Paris and Oslo conventions on protection of the seas, the planned deep-sea disposal could not be carried out."

The fact that a number of seaboard nations objected to the dumping despite originally giving their approval showed that "it is not enough for a decision to conform to laws and international rules," the company added. "Acceptance by society is needed too."

Reprinted from the Boycott Quarterly, Vol.3, No.2. Edited for space. ◆

"We must demonstrate, teach, and preach, until the very foundations of our nation are shaken. We must work unceasingly to lift this nation that we love to a higher destiny, to a new plateau of compassion, to a more noble expression of humaneness."

– MLK

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Cheetwoot Wilderness Alliance Old Growth Slide Show
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Wednesday, Dec 13 • 6:30pm
Labor Temple, Hall 7
2700 1st Ave., Seattle
Committed to putting forward a new agenda for workers based on their own interests. Call (206) 382-5712 for info.

Olympia Film Society

through January 3rd
Capitol Theater
206 East 5th Ave
Kids, The Postman (Il Postino), The Silence of Neto, Belle de Jour, Double Happiness, and Mute Witness. Previously unscreen shows include The Brothers McMullen and Unzipped.
All movies show as double features from Sunday through Wednesday, with times alternating between 6:30 and 9pm.
Call 754-5378 for more info.

Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace

Tuesday, December 5th • 7pm
at Liberation Cafe, 116 4th Ave E
Top floor of Bulldog News
Planning the year's agenda including organizing against initiatives

Tuesday, December 19th • 7pm
at Liberation Cafe, 116 4th Ave E
Top floor of Bulldog News
Informational and discussion on Intel • Call 956-1771 for info

Olympia FOR Monthly Speaker Series

Third Sunday of Month
Thurston County Courthouse Building 1
Call 491-9093 for info.

Hands Off Washington

General Meeting
Last Tuesday of Month
United Churches • Capital & 11th
Call 786-6608 for info

Food Not Bombs

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Meetings: Wednesday 6pm
TESC CAB 1st floor

Support for Women's Clinic and Choice

Thursdays 8:30 am - 3 pm
1100 Eastside Street NE

According to David, if the city really cared about preventing youth from using drugs or contracting HIV, they would put someone on the streets to work with youth instead of "shutting down the only access to life saving information and materials program that is on the streets continuously."

Long Haired David is on call twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. The one-for-one needle exchange program is the only continuous access point for an injection drug user. The Thurston County Healthmobile operates only one day a week. But as David says, "one day a week access to lifesaving materials, just doesn't cut it!"

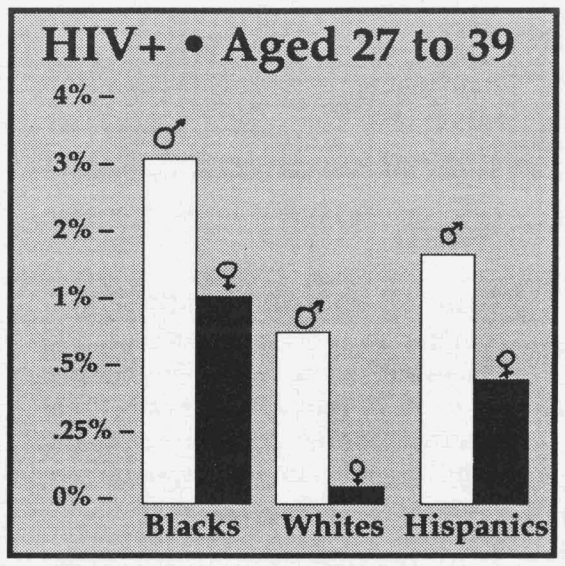
Although most of the exchanges and counseling take place in the OAPP office, if clients need assistance when the business hours are closed, OAPP will meet them on the street. David believes, "an outreach program should be 100% client service oriented, not bureaucracy oriented. Since injection drug users are so interspersed throughout our community, there is no one point of access.

The Needle Exchange

The services provided by the Needle Exchange extend well beyond the actual exchange of needles. A vital part of the program is helping injection drug users find access to healthcare and drug treatment programs. "I am in a fist fight with Thurston County right now for getting access to Detox," David says. Currently, there are only two Detox beds reserved for Thurston and Mason counties in Tacoma.

Presently if a client requests access to such services, it is often two to three months later until treatment is available. "Every time I turn away a heroin user from Detox, we send him right back to the dope dealer!" Often it is the frequent contact with David, that provides clients with the friendship, encouragement and hope that keeps them hanging on until one of the coveted spots in health care services becomes available.

"Two-thirds of the sero-positivity increase nation wide right now is in the injection drug user community. OAPP has struggled to help keep these levels low here. Recently, we have noticed a small decrease in the level. And these people are willing to risk sacrificing this," says David.



The OAPP needle exchange originated three and a half years ago when David participated in a local focus study researching the needs of the community's injection drug users in regard to HIV/AIDS. As an ex-injection drug user, David's participation in the study provided valuable experience in determining what the needs were.

Last year, the OAPP Needle Exchange operated at a fraction of the cost of the Health Department's. "If you took our budget of $10,500 and dropped it into the top of the Health Department, by the time any services came out, you wouldn't even have enough to buy a box of condoms. "They will never be able to provide the outreach for the money we have. They will never have the personal relationships with clients that we do. They will never be able to touch the lives we have touched. Community based organizations need to be supported, not crushed."

Adam (not his real name) a former client of OAPP, currently in treatment, says, "At a time where I was completely desperate and had nowhere else to turn to, [David] pointed me in the right direction and helped me get there. He informed me of all of the possibilities.

"If they close down the Needle Exchange, everyone here who is an IV drug user will start sharing needles. It is not like they are going to stop using. How can they when access to treatment is so difficult? If it is a question of getting a potentially terminal disease or just calling someone to set up an exchange of a needle, everyone that I know will choose to exchange."

Craig Hymson did much of the work for this article by collecting statements and doing interviews. Completion of it was made possible through the efforts of Oliver Moffat and Pat Tassoni. ◆

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